JAN 3 1936

American Economic Review

Vol. XXVI No. 1 January, 1936

ISSUED QUARTERLY

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Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 6-8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Va., or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York. The price of subscription is $5.00 a year; single numbers are sold for $1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for $7.50.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to the REVIEW *may be sent to the Managing Editor, Henry E. Bourne, 40 Independence Ave., S. W., Washington, D. C. Books for review should be sent to the same address.*

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Volume XLI] *January, 1936* [*Number 2*

The

American Historical Review

THE HELLENISTIC WORLD AND ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT[1]

IN these days of unsettled and chaotic economic conditions, of an acute economic crisis which prevails over all the civilized world, when all sorts of remedies are suggested for healing the wounds, and among them, under the label of the last word in economic science, some age-old and many times tried devices, it is perhaps not inappropriate for a student of ancient economic history to recall to mind the remote past of Greece and Rome where similar crises were not infrequent and where many devices were tried in the hope of solving them.

It is not my intention to attempt to unroll the whole history of the economic evolution of the Ancient world. However attractive such a program might be, the subject is so vast and so complicated that its treatment in a short hour would be without doubt too general and vague to be of any use. Let me choose for my demonstration a short but momentous period in the history of the Ancient world, a period little known, which formed the subject of my special study for many years. I refer to the period after the conquest of the East by Alexander and before the final incorporation of Greece and the Hellenized Eastern world into the Roman Empire. Its traditional name, however inadequate, is "The Hellenistic Period".

It was a time when the world of the Greek city-state definitely and finally came out of its political and cultural isolation and tried to absorb and to Hellenize the Near East; when in the post-Alexandrian monarchies for three centuries two radically different civilizations and mentalities, the Oriental and the Greek, lived together peacefully; when the Greek genius penetrated deeply into the achievements of the Oriental genius and vice versa; and when among other important phenomena two

[1] Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Chattanooga on December 28, 1935. This address is a summary of the corresponding chapter of my book on the "Social and Economic History of Greece and the Hellenistic Monarchies after Alexander" (in preparation). The reader will find the references to ancient sources and modern productions in the more detailed presentation.

different principles and two different modes of economic life met and dwelt together in friendly competition. In the second half of this period the Latin West, too, was drawn into that Greco-Oriental amalgam. There in the East the future creator of world unity, Rome, first faced the greatest problems of the Ancient world and among them the eternal economic problem.

It is worth while, therefore, to try to reconstruct this page of economic history, so peculiar and so remote, yet at the same time so familiar and so near to us, heirs and children of the Greco-Roman world.

I. Alexander and the Diadochs (successors)

At the end of the Fourth century the Greek world experienced a profound political, spiritual, and economic crisis. In the four centuries of its rapid and brilliant evolution Greece, which was once a group of tribes and clans, was transformed into a net of city-states, which spread all over Greece proper and the Greek islands and studded the most attractive parts of the Mediterranean and Pontic coasts. Each one of these city-states had its own political, religious, artistic, and economic life and did its best to be in all these respects self-sufficient. However, all of them were conscious of their racial and cultural unity and in spite of their lack of close political and cultural coherence they formed a world in themselves. Economic self-sufficiency, like political, was always the ideal of a Greek city-state, an ideal, however, which was never achieved. Greece was too poor for each part of it to be able to satisfy its own needs, and therefore almost all its cities were in bitter need of imported goods—foodstuffs, building materials, metals. Import presupposed export, and every Greek city tried consequently to make the best use of its natural resources and of the creative power of its population in order to balance import and export. A lively exchange of goods between the various parts of Greece was therefore an age-old phenomenon in the life of Greece, and interstate trade developed rapidly.

Greek cities, as I pointed out before, were scattered over large parts of the Mediterranean and Pontic coasts. The hinterlands of these cities in the West, in the North, and in the East—the Anatolians of Asia Minor, the Berbers of Africa, the non-Greek population of South Italy and Sicily, the Iberians of Spain, the Ligurians, Iberians, and Celts of Gaul, the Illyrians and Thracians of the northern part of the Balkan peninsula, the Scythians and pre-Scythians of South Russia, the tribes of the Caucasus—all were eager to exchange their goods for the products of Greek agriculture and industry. To the interstate trade of Greece, there-

fore, an ever-growing trade with foreign countries soon was added.

The new markets enriched Greece, increased its production, made possible a constant growth of its population, and changed the aspect of its economic life. In the field of agriculture production of grain was falling, production of wine and olive oil rapidly growing. In the field of industry the Greek artisans were adapting their crafts to the needs and tastes of their foreign customers and were working not for the city markets only but for the ever-increasing foreign markets also. Growing exports were matched by growing imports, and Greece for its subsistence became ever more dependent on those foreign markets. This phenomenon played a very important part in the evolution of Greece. Export not only stimulated Greek industry and trade, and made the country rich, but also broke its national and cultural isolation and enabled it to start the transformation of its national culture into a world civilization.

At the end of the Fifth century and in the Fourth, the aspect of the economic life of Greece underwent a notable change. Greek export began to decrease, while the import was growing. The clients of Greece, both the Greek cities of the periphery of the Greek world and their neighbors, potentially as rich as they were, developed their own flourishing agriculture and industry and gradually emancipated themselves from Greece proper, the Greek islands, and the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Archaeology shows that in the latter half of the Fifth century B.C. and in the Fourth, the Italian market was almost lost for Greece, and the same phenomenon is noticeable in the Pontic regions.

For Greece it was a tremendous blow. Without a foreign market with ever-growing buying capacity the country was doomed. Its salvation from imminent economic decay came from Alexander.

It is well known how Philip and Alexander by creating a league of Greek city-states saved Greece temporarily from political anarchy. Another gift of Alexander to Greece was its economic renascence. It was the brilliant, almost miraculous, conquest of Persia by Alexander which, for a while, restored Greek prosperity. That happened in the following way.

It was not Alexander who discovered the Orient and made Greece acquainted with it. Alexander is in no way the Columbus of the Ancient world. Commercial relations between the Orient and Greece had existed for centuries. The creation of the Persian Empire made the exchange of goods between the two worlds regular and brisk. However, the balance of this trade was almost passive for Greece. Greece was in need of Oriental products—especially the products of its caravan

trade—while the Orient, with its splendid industry and its refined agriculture, imported very little Greek goods. Alexander's conquest changed this state of things and transformed the balance of Greek trade with the Orient from passive to active.

The expedition in itself was a blessing for Greece. Many Greeks took part in it: as mercenary soldiers, as members of the technical staff of Alexander, as traders, as artisans, artists, courtesans, and what not. The army of Alexander was not only a war instrument, it was a moving state; and its train was much larger than its fighting body. Both the army and its train were well provided with money. In the treasuries of the Persian kings Alexander found an enormous quantity of gold and silver. These Persian hoards were transformed into coins, which he put into circulation. The pay of the soldiers in his army was relatively high. Lavish gifts, also, were distributed from time to time by Alexander to his "companions", both high and low in rank. With him they earned wealth as well as glory. And the same thing is true of the members of the army's train.

Alexander conquered the East and became the successor of the Persian kings, remaining at the same time the king of the Macedonians and the president of the league of Greek city-states. Time to organize his new state was not granted him, but his leading ideas as to its organization are well known. In his mind his new empire was not to be one with a small ruling class of Macedonians and Greeks and with millions of Oriental subjects. His dream was a Greco-Oriental empire based on a new ruling class, Greco-Oriental in its very essence. However, by the force of circumstances the lion's share in the administration of Alexander's empire fell to the Macedonians and to the Greeks. He and they belonged to the same stock, spoke the same language, had the same religion, shared in the same civilization. They were devoted to him, and he could rely upon them better than upon the Oriental aristocracy. It is no wonder, then, that the administration of his empire proved to be Greco-Macedonian, not Greco-Oriental, in Alexander's lifetime. Thousands of Macedonians and Greeks took part in it and formed the upper stratum of its population.

Still larger was the group of Macedonians and Greeks who populated the so-called colonies of Alexander. However our sources may have exaggerated the number of colonies that he founded, it remains a fact that Greco-Macedonian colonization, colonization both military and political, was carried out by Alexander on a large scale. His colonists were not paupers, and they started their new life in favorable conditions.

Naturally, they took an active part in the economic life of the Orient and many of them soon became prosperous.

Along with the army, the administrative officers, and the colonists, large masses of Greeks poured into the Orient on their own initiative. We have no exact figures but their numbers cannot be overestimated. It was in this way, for instance, that Alexandria as soon as it was founded developed the brisk life to which the rich archaeological finds of this period that have been made there bear witness. A new stratum of population was thus created by Alexander all over the Near East. The newcomers were mostly Greeks, or at least accustomed to Greek life. Like the Europeans and Americans of our days in the Near and Far East they had their own needs, their own ideas of life and comfort. These needs could not be met by the Oriental production of that period. For a time, Greek goods were imported into the East in large quantities. We know this definitely for Alexandria from archaeological finds, and it is true of Syria also. It is, for example, a well-known fact that in Syria in early Hellenistic times the better pottery in ordinary use (not the fine ware) was imported from Athens. It was in this way that Alexander created for Greece and Asia Minor a rich, new market. Its buying capacity increased rapidly, and its demands became even larger.

Moreover, by the creation of his Greco-Oriental Empire, Alexander ensured for Greece established peace and tolerable conditions of trade. Professional pirates—a scourge of Greece in the Fourth century—disappeared for a while. Selfish acts of Greek city-states, exploits of theirs in the field of organized sea-robbery, were stopped. The land routes in Asia Minor and the Near East were improved and made safe for traffic. Excellent currency from the various mints of Alexander became practically *the* currency of the time.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Greece very soon recovered from its economic distress and regained its prosperity. Read the comedies of Menander, a contemporary of Alexander, and you will realize what a quiet and prosperous life the Athenian *bourgeoisie* led in the last years of the Fourth century. Another proof of the restored economy of the Greek world in the time of Alexander is the rapid and constant growth of prices in Greece. The demand for Greek goods of special types was large, the buying capacity of the market was continually increasing, and currency was abundant, while the suddenness of the demand gave Greece no time to increase and to change the character of its production correspondingly.

The political and economic unity of the Greco-Oriental world created

by Alexander survived him. The long struggle between generals after his death was in the main a struggle between supporters and opponents of this unity. For a long time it existed not only *de jure* but also *de facto*, and its practical termination came not so much after the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) as after the battle of Korupedion (281 B.C.). During this period the organization of his empire continued to exist, though slowly modified first by Alexander's satraps, and later (after 306 B.C.) by the kings of the constituent parts of the empire.

Alexander's traditions dominated not only in the political but also in the economic life of his empire. His "Grande Armée" was never demobilized, and still lived. Distributed among his generals and constantly increasing in numbers, this army with its train remained what it was in Alexander's lifetime—a rich and lavish buyer of Greek products. The successors of Alexander manifested great energy in carrying forward his colonization of the East. They all built great and brilliant capitals for their new kingdoms. Only one of these—Alexandria in Egypt—was Alexander's creation. The others—Antigonia on the Orontes (later replaced by Antioch on the Orontes and by Seleucia on the Tigris) in Syria, Demetrias in Thessaly, Cassandria in Macedonia, Lysimachia in Thrace—were brand-new foundations of the diadochs. Along with them, all over Syria, Mesopotamia, Iran, and Asia Minor arose scores, perhaps hundreds, of new Greco-Macedonian military and civil colonies. Thousands of Macedonians and Greeks came to these new cities to stay. In Egypt, Macedonians and Greeks, soldiers and civilians were not concentrated in cities of the Greek type but scattered among half-rural settlements, new and old. The Greek population of the Orient grew rapidly and with the population grew the consumption of Greek goods.

Under Alexander's successors, therefore, Greece was as rich as it had been in his own time. In spite of the never ending wars, the Aegean Sea and the highways of the Near East were comparatively safe for trade relations. The currency, though differentiated (each successor coined his own money) was abundant, uniform, and reliable. Greek language and Greek law were taking firm root all over the East and made business and trade more and more easy as time went on. Prices, as before and for the same reasons, were rising steadily.

II. The Balance of Power

The struggle between political unity and separatism, so typical of Greece in general, resulted eventually in a complete victory of separatist tendencies. The place of Alexander's empire was taken by what we call

a "Balance of Power". The empire became divided into its natural constituent parts. The East was united in the hands of the descendants of Seleucus; in Egypt the Ptolemies firmly established their rule; Macedonia under the rule of Antigonus Gonatas and his descendants continued its existence as a strong monarchy and suzerain of Greece. Besides the three leading monarchies, some Greek city-states and leagues led an independent political life, as also did the Bosporan kingdom in the Crimea and the Anatolian monarchies of Pontus, Cappadocia, and Armenia. Under the pressure of the Celtic invasion in Asia Minor arose the small but compact Pergamene state.

All the new independent states pursued more or less identical political aims, not very different from those formerly cherished by some of the older Greek city-states. They all were determined never to give up their political independence, and almost all of them strove to play a leading part in the political life of the Hellenistic balance of power. Their economic policy was similar too—they sought self-sufficiency on the basis of the utmost development of their economic resources, and they strove to secure for their products the largest possible market, which practically amounted to the establishment of economic hegemonies, especially in the Aegean Sea.

Brilliant results were achieved in both directions by the first two Ptolemies, Soter and Philadelphus. The first aim, self-sufficiency and prosperity, was attained in a peculiar way. We must keep in mind that in the Greek world economics was always in the service of politics. This leading idea was inherited from the Greek city-states by all the Hellenistic monarchs; first and foremost, by the Ptolemies. They wanted to make their own country rich by developing its natural resources and using the productive forces of its population, but they did it in order to enrich the state, not the population. Now, according to the age-old Oriental tradition, which was taken over by the Hellenistic monarchs and had a solid philosophical background bestowed upon it by the Greek philosophers of the late Fourth and Third centuries B.C., state and monarch were identical; that is to say, according to the Greek way of thinking, the monarch was the owner of the state. The enrichment of the state was therefore identical with the prosperity of the king, who was not only the owner but also the incarnation of the state.

Being in theory and in practice the owner of the state, the king was free to organize its economic life as he saw fit. His subjects were supposed to support him by their creative efforts. Their personal interests were of little importance, those of the state were paramount. From

this leading principle logically derived the normative planning that characterized the Ptolemaic economic system, the "etatization" of almost all the functions of Egyptian economic life which is so well known to us from thousands of documents. Agriculture organized according to an elaborate plan; "etatized" and sometimes monopolized industry; trade, partly monopolized and partly controlled by the government; fully developed and immensely diversified taxation of a sort familiar to the traditions of the Greek city-state; compulsory labor of the population—such were the main devices of the new economic structure established in Egypt by the first two Ptolemies. It was in the main a new creation of Greek genius, though based on ancient institutions and traditions of Pharaonic Egypt.

The introduction of the new system of planned economy in Egypt was accompanied by feverish activity on the part of the first Ptolemies in developing the natural resources of that rich land and improving the industrial opportunities and methods of its population. New land was reclaimed, the irrigation system was extended and improved, marsh land and sandy desert became fields, vineyards, olive groves, kitchen and fruit gardens. New devices in agriculture were tried out and introduced. New species of plants and animals were acclimatized; the camel, for instance, first appears in Egypt under the Ptolemies. Various new methods in industrial production were imported from Greece. Exact science, of which the great center was the "Museum" of Alexandria, to a certain extent helped the Ptolemies in their endeavors by improving technical devices, especially in hydraulics, land surveying, architecture, shipbuilding, and war crafts. The accumulated experience of the Orient and Greece (especially the latter) in agriculture and probably also in industry was collected and made accessible to everybody in the form of manuals. Zenon's correspondence, one of the greatest documentary finds of our time, shows how Zenon, the right-hand man of Apollonius, who in his turn was the chief assistant of Philadelphus in his economic reforms, occupied himself with applying the new devices in the organization of a large new agricultural concern on recently reclaimed land in the Fayum.

The "New Deal" in Egypt in the hands of the first Ptolemies was successful in the main. Egypt became the richest state of the Hellenistic balance of power, an Eldorado for Greek emigrants. Not only were the state and its rulers rich and prosperous, but the same may be said of the population of Egypt, both Greek and native.

Successful in their endeavors to make Egypt wealthy and self-sufficient, the first Ptolemies were no less successful in augmenting the

resources of their kingdom by acquiring rich foreign dominions (South Syria and Palestine with their caravan trade and lumber, Cyprus with its metals, Southern Asia Minor with its forests) and by establishing a degree of commercial hegemony in the Aegean waters. The Ptolemies, one may say, became in the early Third century successors of Athens. Alexandria was now the great clearinghouse for Aegean commerce, a kind of London in the Ancient world, and its influence was felt not in the Aegean regions alone but far away in the Pontus and in the Western seas, at Carthage, in Sicily, and in Rome. A strong navy gave the Ptolemies standing in the Aegean, and they undertook to make it safe for commerce. Pirates continued to exist but were not very harmful, with the navy of the Islanders' League, as well as that of Egypt there to keep them well in hand. But of course the Ptolemaic hegemony was far from absolute. The Ptolemies had strong rivals in the Seleucids and in Antigonus Gonatas. In the Aegean they were no more than *primi inter pares*. In economics as in politics the early Third century B.C. was a time of balanced power. We know very little, however, of the contemporary economic development of the other Hellenistic states.

The little that can be ascertained about Syria shows that her political difficulties did not affect her economic prosperity. The first Seleucids successfully colonized their Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian satrapies. Their capitals were flourishing. New military and commercial roads were built. Commercial and political expeditions were sent out to explore the great routes which connected Iran with China and India. To what extent the Seleucids followed the example of the Ptolemies in reorganizing the economic life of Syria according to the planning system, not entirely unknown in those regions, we cannot say. Our scant information suggests that Syria may have been a land of far-reaching though not unrestricted economic freedom.

What is true of Syria is certainly true of Macedonia and of the minor independent states mentioned above: prosperity was on the order of the day.

The successful efforts of the Hellenistic kings to intensify production in all fields of economic activity had important consequences. There was no longer any shortage of goods. The markets were well provided with foodstuffs, raw materials, and industrial products. The Hellenized Orient was less and less in need of goods imported from Greece. Alexandria, Antioch, and many minor cities were able now to satisfy the needs of their own Greek population and that of the countries in which they were situated, and both Syria and Egypt grew less and less in need of Greek wine, olive oil, and industrial products. The result was a

steady fall of prices in the Aegean Sea and a certain uneasiness which was felt all over Greece. While the Greek Orient was getting more and more wealthy, Greek prosperity was either static or slowly declining.

Political not economic reasons, however, were responsible for ending the Ptolemaic commercial hegemony in the Aegean. Syria and Macedonia challenged it, and though in Syria Egypt retained its foreign dominions, in the Aegean Sea the Ptolemies were forced to share their commercial leadership with Macedonia and Rhodes. At the same time the wars began at last to undermine both the safety of trade in the Aegean and the prosperity of the belligerents. The greatest sufferer was the mainland of Greece. It lost a good deal of its buying capacity by the ravages of the war, its exports gradually fell and its imports rose, and the insecurity of the sea was making regular commercial relations difficult. The result was a rise in prices all over Greece.

The situation became still worse when at the end of the Third century two ambitious young monarchs, Antiochus III in Syria and Philip V in Macedonia, undermined the balance of power by their endeavors to put an end not only to the hegemony of Egypt but also to its independence. The successes of Antiochus III, especially in the East, together with the restless activity of Philip in the Aegean and the Adriatic and his alliance with Hannibal, the great enemy of Rome, induced Rome, which had just emerged victorious from the Second Punic War, to interfere in the political life of the Hellenistic East. The main endeavor of Rome was directed toward preventing the formation of any kind of political hegemony in the East. Political disintegration of the East and isolation of its constituent parts was the leading aim of Roman policy in the East from the very start. The facts are well known. After Cynoscephalae, Macedonia was cut off from Greece and the Aegean Sea. After Magnesia, Syria was isolated; between Syria and Greece now stood the strong Pergamene kingdom, a faithful ally of Rome. Egypt, which in its struggle with Antiochus III had lost its Syrian dependencies and in that with Philip its Anatolian dominions, was not restored in its rights by Rome. A strong Egypt was as little to Rome's taste as a strong Syria or Macedonia. Egypt's role in the Aegean was inherited by another faithful ally of Rome—Rhodes.

The political anarchy of the late Third century and the intervention of Rome had grave economic consequences. The economic decay of Greece progressed rapidly. The country was devastated and ruined by the bloody and cruel wars of the late Third century and economically exhausted by the confiscations, requisitions, and plunderings of Rome

during the Macedonian and Syrian wars. The isolation of the East by Rome's efforts almost completely stopped Greek emigration to the East; and yet the population of Greece was constantly growing. The export trade of Greece was catastrophically going down, in part through the progressing economic emancipation of the East and in part through sinking production caused by the devastations of wars. For imported foodstuffs Greece had no money to pay. Her *bourgeoisie* was ruined, her trade balance was passive. To meet the catastrophe Greece resorted to race suicide among other things, to exposure of children. Polybius describes this plight of his home country in vivid colors.

Almost as bad as the situation of Greece was that of Egypt. Most of her dominions had been lost and with them the regular supply of cheap raw materials. The caravan trade which had been a rich source of income for Egypt and a stimulant for her industry was considerably reduced in volume. Syria was now mistress of the great Arabian caravan routes leading to the cities of Palestine and Phoenicia. The income from Egypt herself was no longer as large and as regular as before. The planning system proved unsuccessful. It degenerated into an open exploitation of the people by a host of greedy crown officers and tax-farmers. The people opposed it with passive resistance. Strikes, not uncommon from the very beginning of the "New Deal", became more and more common. The fellahin fled to the temples and hid in the swamps of the Delta. Recently reclaimed land lay waste, because labor was scarce and inefficient. Revolts of natives became a feature of the times. The government tried all sorts of devices to break the resistance of the population: compulsion and repressive measures, appeals to patriotism, amnesties, repeated promises to stop administrative abuses—all in vain. The production of Egypt was slowly but irretrievably going down. Acute shortage of gold and silver in the treasury was one of the results of this situation. In bitter need of means to pay the army and to buy imported goods the Ptolemies made the first steps toward inflation. Deterioration of silver coins came early, and was followed by the introduction of the copper drachm instead of the silver one as the standard coin.

The economic situation of Syria was much better. The income from the increased volume of her caravan trade compensated her for the loss of Asia Minor. It was this income which permitted Antiochus III and Seleucus IV to pay the heavy contribution to Rome, and it was in all probability the same source of revenue which made it possible for Syria to crush the revolt in Palestine and to conquer Egypt temporarily.

While Greece and Egypt were on the verge of ruin, Asia Minor under the rule of the Pergamene kings flourished as never before. The rule of Attalus I and Eumenes II in Pergamon reminds us of the most splendid period in the life of Egypt. Pergamon under their rule rivaled Alexandria and became one of the most brilliant and civilized cities of the Hellenistic world. The kings of Pergamon developed with great energy and skill the natural resources of their rich country. Agriculture was flourishing. Pergamene industries entered into competition with those of older industrial centers and their products appeared on the world market: the famous *vestes Attalicae,* parchment, new brands of pottery, silver and bronze plate. The economic system of the Attalids was not very much different from the planning system of the Ptolemies. It was a kind of economic "Führertum". The best land was in the hands of the kings, the largest and best equipped industrial concerns were owned and managed by them. Royal economy led, private economy lagged behind. Slave and serf labor were powerful means in the hands of those great business men, the Pergamene kings.

Prosperity came also to the proud and vigorous city of Rhodes, the successor of Alexandria in the Aegean Sea. The Rhodians were always great sailors and skillful business men. After the downfall of Egypt and Macedonia, Rhodes, under the protection of Rome, became the greatest center of commerce and banking in the Aegean. Its excellent navy contributed to the restoration of safety in the Aegean Sea. Relentless war on the pirates was the Rhodian policy. Another task assumed by Rhodians was curbing the selfish and anarchical endeavors of some Greek cities to exploit trade for their own profit by lawless measures. Rhodian ships were ubiquitous. Rhodian commercial relations reached Seleucia on the Tigris and Susa on the Eulaeus in the southeast, Spain, Africa, and Gaul in the west, the Greek cities of the Crimea in the northeast, the slopes of the Carpathian mountains in the north. Rhodian coins successfully competed with other currencies. Rhodian regulation of sea commerce, known under the name of the Rhodian law, was observed by all the merchants in the eastern part of the Mediterranean.

In spite of the ruin which overtook some parts of the Hellenistic world, its economic situation in general was far from catastrophic. The losses of Egypt and Greece were gains for Syria, Pergamon, Rhodes. The center of gravity of economic life shifted a little, but production was still large and exchange lively. This situation is reflected in coinage and prices. Except for Egypt, no one of the minting states resorted to inflation and prices were not less stable than in the preceding period.

III. Roman Domination

The prosperity that came to some parts of the Hellenistic world after the Roman intervention was not lasting. Rome did not want it and very soon put an end to it. Rome's motives were of course purely political, not economic. Economic recovery of the Hellenistic world foretold a political renaissance, and this meant "revanche". Rome was determined to prevent that, and struck hard. Her first victims were her enemies of the past—Macedonia and Syria. Macedonia after the Third Macedonian War ceased to exist as an independent and united state. Antiochus IV was forbidden by diplomatic intervention to unite the whole of the Near East under his rule by annexing Egypt. Next came Rome's faithful allies, Pergamon and Rhodes. They became too strong and showed too much interest in the future of the Greek world. Both were accused of treason. An end was put to the splendid development of the Pergamene kingdom. Rhodes was punished by economic sanctions. Delos was made a free port, and Rhodes lost her main income from the transit trade. Rhodes was no longer able to keep up a strong navy and thus to police the sea and keep the pirates quiet. Finally, as soon as Corinth and the rest of Greece began to recover, in the atmosphere of peace which followed the battle of Pydna, Corinth was ruthlessly destroyed and Greece ruined once more and humiliated.

After these momentous acts of Rome a new era began in the political life of the Hellenistic world. The strong monarchies of the past began rapidly to disintegrate, this disintegration led to political anarchy, and the result was first vassalage to Rome and later annexation by her. In the economic field we notice a rapid impoverishment of almost all the Hellenistic states, their growing economic isolation and the reorientalization of the Hellenistic East not only in the field of civilization but also in that of economics. The process of impoverishment was accelerated in Greece and Asia Minor by Mithridates the Great through his attempt to liberate the Near East from Rome's domination, which led to protracted and ruinous wars. Meanwhile Syria was suffering severely under the pressure of the Parthians, of the separatist tendencies of her satrapies, and of dynastic wars, unending and aimless, while similar dynastic troubles, further degeneration of Ptolemaic etatism, and the growth of national consciousness among the natives prevented the recovery of Egypt. In Egypt the economic debacle found its expression, among other things, in a fever of inflation, which reached an acute stage first at the time of the expedition of Antiochus IV against Egypt (about 170 B.C.) and thereafter repeatedly. The relation between silver and

copper, stabilized for a while at the rate of sixty copper drachms for one silver drachm, suddenly and spasmodically changed—400, 500, and even 625 copper drachms were now paid for one silver drachm. This state of things never changed in Egypt until its annexation by Rome, and its permanency, a kind of stabilized crisis, presents one of the most difficult problems in the economic history of Egypt.

However, it was not the impoverishment and isolation of the East which was the leading phenomenon in the economic history of the Second and First centuries B.C. Much more important was the gradual absorption of the East, political and economic, by the growing Roman Empire. Once more the economic center of gravity changed its place. From Greece and the Near East the leading role in economic life passed to Italy and Rome. This interesting phenomenon deserves close and intensive study.

The gradual emancipation of Italy from Greece in its economic life in the Fifth and Fourth centuries B.C. has already been mentioned. In this period Italy developed its own flourishing agriculture and grazing, its own viticulture and gardening, its own splendid half-Greek industry, especially in South Italy and Campania, in Etruria, and in some parts of Samnium, Apulia, and Lucania. From passive the trade balance of Italy became active. I cannot dwell at length on this phenomenon, little studied and little known as it is.

This evolution was arrested for a while by the troubled period in the history of Italy during the late Fourth and the Third century B.C., a period of continued wars, when Rome created her Pan-Italian federation and later, in the protracted struggle against Carthage, laid the foundations of her empire. The culminating point was the Second Punic War, when both Italy and Carthage were utterly devastated and laid in ruins.

After the Punic wars, the annexation of Sicily, of parts of Spain, Africa, and Gaul, and the splendid victories of Rome in the Orient, conditions changed. Italy gradually and slowly began to concentrate in her hands the accumulated wealth of both East and West and became the richest country of the Ancient world. War booty, contributions, pillage, and requisitions enriched not only the Roman state but many individuals, both Romans and allies. That period of chaotic accumulation was followed by one in which Rome and her allies exploited their new vassals and dominions. The facts are generally known and need not detain us.

Thus Italy after a period of bitter poverty and ruin became rich and

prosperous again. There were large accumulations of capital in the hands of the Roman aristocracy and the most thrifty of Rome's allies, especially the residents of Campania and Apulia, conspicuous centers of agriculture, grazing, industry, and commerce during the pre-Roman period. Accumulated capital was invested to a large extent in Italy itself: in land, industry, and commerce. The lead was taken by the South Italians and the Sicilians. Not satisfied with this activity in Italy, groups of South Italians extended their business interests to the East and later to the West. All over the East and the West, especially in important business centers, groups of Italian business men appeared who took an active part in the commercial life, especially in the East, and invested their capital in agriculture, industry, moneylending, banking, and trade. In Sicily and in the East these groups of Italians, financed in part by the rich men of Rome, and many of the Romans themselves—generals, diplomats, officers, soldiers, and later tax-farmers and their staffs—came into intimate contact with the refined life of the Greeks and especially with the highly complicated Hellenistic business world. On their return they acquainted their relatives, their friends, their business associates and neighbors with the novelties that they brought home, and gradually remodeled the life of Italy on new Hellenistic patterns. The lead was taken by Campania, but the new fashion spread like fire all over Italy. The second Hellenization of Italy, so important for the later development of ancient civilization, was in the main the result of this phenomenon.

In the field of economics the new era found its expression in a thorough reconstruction of business life on Hellenistic lines. So it was in the field of the most important Italian industry, agriculture. The old-fashioned rural economy practiced by Italian landlords and peasants gave way to a new type—the systematic and capitalistic agriculture characteristic of model farms and estates in the Hellenistic world. Evidence of this is afforded by the favor with which Roman landowners received the new handbooks on agriculture or rather on rural economy in general. To be sure, the oldest of them, the manual of Cato, may be regarded in the main as a tabulation of Italian devices in progressive agriculture. However, its purely capitalistic orientation and its didactic tone savor of Greek and Carthaginian treatises of the Third and Second centuries, and the very idea of publishing such a book was certainly inspired by the Hellenistic works then in circulation and by the new orientation of agriculture. In fact, it is not improbable that Cato was acquainted with Hellenistic treatises of agriculture and to some extent

borrowed from them. The next treatise which we possess, that of Varro, does not conceal its indebtedness to similar Hellenistic books. These manuals of course were never mere translations of Greek originals. They borrowed from them, they were modeled in tone and composition on them, but they were Italic in their contents, following Greek precedent without slavish imitation.

This is also true in the field of industry. We can trace it best in the pottery. The new Hellenistic fashion of clay "plate" imitating silver plate and replacing painted pottery, with all the alterations in technique and in the organization of mass production attendant upon this change, penetrated very early into Italy. Campania took the lead (Calenian pottery). From here the new fashion moved to the North (the Italic brand of the so-called Megarian bowls), and finally conquered Italy and the foreign markets in the shape of Arretine pottery, an Italian continuation of similar Pergamene pottery.

The new Hellenistic trend was not confined to the economic sphere. It is well known how it changed all the aspects of Italian life, cultural, social, intellectual, religious.

This new orientation of the Italian life in all its aspects affected to a large extent the economic development of the Eastern Hellenistic world. Re-Hellenized Italy had many new needs. New labor, both skilled and unskilled, was required by the economic reorganization of Italy. This new labor poured into Italy in the form of a flood of slaves. The richer classes of Italy, in remodeling their life on more refined lines, created a demand for new foodstuffs and drinks, for new articles of industry and art, and novelties of all kinds. The facts are well known to all readers of the Latin classics.

While Italian agriculture and industry were in process of reorganization and were only partly able to satisfy these new requirements of their own country, it was the East which supplied the goods needed by Italy: slaves, fine brands of wine and olive oil, all sorts of delicacies, the products of the caravan trade, industrial products of various kinds, objects of art, books.

It might have been expected that the new Italian market, with its rapidly increasing requirements and its steadily growing buying capacity, would restore the prosperity of Greece and of the Near East. But this did not happen, for reasons that were political, not economic. Wars in the East continued unceasingly in the late Second and in the First century B.C. After the Mithridatic wars came the Civil War with all its horrors and devastations, its requisitions and contributions. As detrimental as the wars was the conduct of Roman administration,

always selfish and cruel. Finally, in this atmosphere of wars and ruthless exploitation, piracy became a real scourge in the entire Eastern Mediterranean. This accounts for the unsound economic condition of Greece and Asia Minor. Syria as long as it was politically independent lived in an atmosphere of political anarchy which made lasting recovery impossible. Nor was the situation in Egypt better. Trade with Italy could not compensate for the havoc created by dynastic wars, Roman exactions, complete degeneration of etatism, and revolts among the natives.

A splendid illustration of the character of economic life in the Near East during the late Hellenistic period is presented by the evolution of Delos at this time. After Pydna Delos was denationalized and internationalized. The Delians were driven from their own home. In its political relations Delos became nominally an Athenian dependency. As early as the Third century B.C. it had been an important commercial center. After 168 B.C. it became by Rome's grant *porto-franco* and thus the successor of Rhodes.

But how different were Rhodes and Delos! Rhodes was a typical Greek city-state, proud of its past, of its political independence, its democracy, its civic liberty. Delos had no citizens, it was not a city-state. Its population consisted of Athenian officers, priests of its famous temple, a motley crowd of merchants, and another international crowd of retail traders, artisans, employees of the merchants, and menial laborers belonging to the harbor—slaves, freedmen, and men of free birth. Delos had no constitution, no political life. It was a city, but it was not Greek and not a state. Rhodes had its small but well-organized army, and its glorious navy; Delos could not even think of having an army or a navy. The great enemies of Rhodes, the pirates, were Delos' best friends, who supplied the island with slaves.

As a center of international commerce Delos had two aspects. As successor of Rhodes it was a clearinghouse for Aegean commerce, especially for the commerce in foodstuffs, chiefly grain. The great producers of grain—the Bosporan kings, the Alexandrian rulers, the kings of Numidia, etc.—traded through Delos with the main consumers of grain, the half-famished Greek city-states. On the other hand, Delos was the connecting link between Italy and the eastern Hellenistic world. From here the South Italian merchants procured great numbers of slaves, here they bought from Tyrian, Berytian, and Alexandrian merchants the products of the caravan trade and of Eastern and Egyptian manufacture. East and West met here in an atmosphere unaffected by politics or nationalism.

Delos excellently represents Hellenistic economic life in the period

of its Italian orientation. It stands on the limit of two periods. Behind Delos was the glorious past of the Greek city-state and the Hellenistic monarchies; before it lay the dim outlines of the Roman Empire, which eventually and gradually built up anew that unity of the civilized world which Alexander the Great had left incomplete and impermanent.

The end of Delos was the last act in the long life of the Hellenistic world. The mortal blow to Delos was not dealt by Mithridates or the pirates. Delos had been created by Rome, and it was Rome that destroyed Delos after it had played its appointed part. As soon as the reconstruction of Italian economic life made sufficient progress, as soon as the Roman Empire was consolidated and the anarchy of its early years was over, Rome discarded Delos like an old rag, taking away her protection and leaving it to its own destiny. Its place in Italy was taken by Puteoli in Campania and later by Ostia, its place in the Aegean by Rhodes.

IV. New Features in Economic Evolution

Such, in its main features, was the economic evolution of the Ancient world in the Hellenistic period: we have noted the "hausses" and "baisses" of prosperity, the methods used for the enlargement and improvement of production and exchange, the interdependence of politics and economics, the violent crises in economic life. We may now stop and ask ourselves what economic novelties first appeared in the Hellenistic period, and what that period meant as a stage in the evolution of ancient economic life.

Among the new phenomena was, first and foremost, *the economic unity* of the civilized world. Before Alexander's advent, the Orient, Greece, and the West had each its separate economic life, and they were connected with each other by commercial relations of varying intensity. The aspect changed completely in the Hellenistic period. In the early part of it the Greek world absorbed or incorporated in its own economic evolution the Near East, and afterwards the Greco-Oriental world drew into its evolution the Latin and the Latinized West.

The unity of Greece and the Orient was achieved through the gradual dissemination in the Orient of compact groups of Greeks that settled in villages and cities, both old and new, and formed politically, socially, and economically the leading, privileged class of the population. This net of Greek cells covered the whole of the Near East and connected its disparate parts. This resulted in the formation of a new social and

economic class in the Hellenized Orient, a Greco-Oriental *bourgeoisie,* which was and remained a unit in spite of local differences. Relatively few of the natives were Hellenized and absorbed by this new class. In the main the natives formed the laboring class of the population on whose toil was based the prosperity of the Greek and Hellenized landowners, industrialists, and merchants. Thus the unity of the Greek and Oriental world was brought about by means of extensive Greek colonization, the new settlers being bound to each other by community of language, law, business practices, civilization, mode of life, mentality. The peculiar economic organization of the Orient was gradually transformed on new Greek patterns, based on free development of individual economic activity, on private property protected by law, on money economy.

In the late Third and early Second century B.C. the Western world with its peculiar constitution and civilization became from the political point of view part of the Hellenistic world, in order soon to become its political master. Rome, the new political ruler of the Hellenistic world, gradually creating a peculiar and original Latin version of Hellenistic civilization, took over the Hellenistic achievements in the field of economics and rebuilt its own economic structure on Hellenistic lines. Into this new Greco-Roman economic life Rome drew the whole of the gradually Latinized West. From Rome and its Western provinces the Modern world inherited the idea of the unity of the civilized world.

The most striking exponent of the economic unity of the Ancient world in the Hellenistic period was its *free and ecumenic commerce,* based on well-organized agriculture and industry, not producing for individual consumers or city and tribal markets, but for merchants, for a mass market. This ecumenic free commerce was something new in the life of the Ancient world. Commercial relations between Greece, the Orient, and the West existed of course before, but they were relatively undeveloped and loosely organized. Commerce, both in Greece and outside it, was in the service of politics, and the Greek city-states pursued selfish and narrow economic aims of their own, to which their commerce was subservient. Alexander's reign marks the end of this period, of separatism and primacy of politics.

In the united Hellenistic world, commerce became ecumenic in the full ancient sense of this term. Even those parts of the Ancient world which politically and culturally stood outside it—China and India, parts of Germany, the Iranians of the Northeast—took part in it. Moreover, commerce was no longer enslaved to politics. Naturally, the kings

of the Hellenistic world tried to direct commerce and to manage it in the interests of their own states. None of them, however, was able to control it completely; nor was Rome able to do so. To be sure, prices of certain goods were dictated by the chief producers, but these producers were to such an extent dependent on their customers for other commodities that these prices were never arbitrary. Such goods, too, were exceptional. The distribution of other, more important goods, grain, oils, wine, wool, linen, cattle, salt, metals, depended entirely on supply and demand and their prices were established in the great clearing-houses of the Hellenistic world, Athens, Corinth, Alexandria, Rhodes, Delos. In the main, Hellenistic commerce was free as long as its natural course was not disturbed by wars and piracy.

Another novelty in the economic life of the Hellenistic world was its *capitalistic* character. I cannot enter here into discussion of the real nature of ancient capitalism, a matter on which I have expressed my opinion repeatedly. The term "capitalism", as applied to the economic evolution of the Ancient world, means, to my mind, a form of economic life which was based on economic freedom and individual economic activity and which was directed toward the free accumulation of capital in the hands of individuals and groups of individuals. It was founded on rationally organized agriculture and industry, functioning not to satisfy the needs of the producers and of a local restricted market, but for an indefinite market, and tending toward mass production of specialized goods.

Capitalism was not entirely the creation of the Hellenistic period. We find beginnings of it at Athens, for example, in the Fifth and Fourth centuries and perhaps still earlier in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. Nor do I affirm that capitalism was the typical feature of economic life in all the parts of the Hellenistic world; extensive regions continued to live in the Hellenistic period in conditions of almost pure household economy, and there still existed many Greek cities which never cut loose from their narrow self-sufficiency. But I am convinced that in the economic life of the Hellenistic *bourgeoisie* capitalistic organization was the most characteristic feature, and that capitalism was then rapidly penetrating into new regions and steadily conquering new individual households. In the Hellenistic period capitalistic mentality was continually spreading in the most progressive and best educated classes.

We are best acquainted with ancient capitalism in a peculiar form, the state capitalism of the Ptolemies, already described. This capitalism,

based as it was on planning economy, was nevertheless purely personal, individual, without admixture of any kind of socialization, some forms of which were not foreign to the economy of the Greek city-state. The planning economy of the Ptolemies, like that of the Pergamene kings, was economy as applied to the enormous private estate of a single man, who organized its life according to his private interests. In the hands of the Ptolemies this organization assumed a purely capitalistic character. Almost the whole of Egypt was one great factory which produced enormous masses of various grains, oils, textiles, papyrus, etc., for sale both inside and outside of Egypt.

Similar in organization to the enormous estate of the Ptolemies and to the large estates of the Pergamene kings and probably of those of the other Hellenistic monarchs were many estates, great and small, of private owners in the Hellenistic world. That of Apollonius in Philadelphia, to which I have already referred, is a notable example, and for other estates of the Hellenistic period capitalistic organization is attested by those manuals of agriculture that were so popular in the Hellenistic world, in Carthage, and in Italy. They are neither scientific treatises, nor yet purely technical handbooks based on experience and experiments; they are treatises of rural economy for a bourgeois landowner, thoroughly capitalistic in their spirit. For their authors a landed estate differs in no essential respect from an industrial concern, a ship, or an apartment house. It was first and foremost a source of income, and its life was directed by careful calculations of expenses and returns and by a purely capitalistic utilization of labor, both slave and free.

The organization of the most progressive branches of industry was equally capitalistic. Millions of small workshops owned by individual artisans still existed. However, by their side large concerns administered on capitalistic lines with division of labor, mass production, and mass distribution became more and more frequent. We have very little information about them. But it is certain that such organization prevailed in the factories of vegetable oils in Egypt, in the textile workshops of the Attalids, in those shops in various parts of the Hellenistic world that produced relief pottery (especially the so-called Megarian bowls) and, at a later time, blown glass. The organization of the factories of Arretine pottery modeled on Hellenistic patterns is well known and has been mentioned previously. There is no need to speak of banking and commerce. However limited their scope, their organization was capitalistic all through.

However, capitalism in the Hellenistic world and the Ancient world

in general never reached the stage which is so well known to the Modern world, the stage characterized mainly by factory mass production with the use of complicated machinery. The reasons for its failure to do so are controversial and cannot be discussed here at length. In my opinion it cannot be ascribed to the shortcomings of ancient science. The basic phenomena, for instance, which led to the construction of steam engines were well known to ancient specialists in mechanics. Nor was ancient capitalism hindered in its development by any lack or weakness of capitalistic mentality. That assumption is contradicted by many undisputed facts. The mentality of *homo oeconomicus* was typical of the Hellenistic world and was inherited from it by the Western world. I must discard also the suggestion that it was the existence of cheap slave labor which prevented capitalism from developing on modern lines. Ptolemaic Egypt never suffered from overproduction of labor and never used slave labor en masse. Besides, slave labor was never cheap, except for very short periods in the life of antiquity. The chief reason, to my mind, was the character of the market. It very seldom happened in the evolution of the Ancient world that the market for goods was steadily expanding and its buying capacity steadily increasing. When it did happen—in the Fifth and Fourth centuries B.C. in Greece, in the early Hellenistic period, in the early Roman Empire—ancient technique and capitalistic organization made rapid progress. But this firmness and growth of the market never lasted very long. It was always arrested by processes which had no direct relation to economic life. In the Hellenistic world the source of interference was its political development, which culminated in Roman intervention.

To the Hellenistic period, then, we are indebted for many of the economic phenomena which now form the basis of our own economic life—economic unity of the civilized world, uniformity of economic life all over the civilized *oecumene,* initiation of mass production, and first steps in the development of capitalism. In Ancient times these institutions were checked in their operation and growth by factors which had nothing to do with economic life. We on our part have greatly developed what we inherited from antiquity or independently created, but are we sure that our economic progress will last forever, that it will never be terminated by events brought about not by economy but by the development of our mentality and our emotions?

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BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

THERE would be no point in adding another article to the scores which have been written on Braddock's defeat if a recent discovery of new documents in Windsor Castle had not made possible a revaluation of the traditional interpretation. The basic question has always been that one which the historian Chalmers posed to General Gage long after the battle, "What was the true military cause of General Braddock's disaster?"[1] Colonel David Humphreys, hoping to follow an essay on Putnam with the life of a greater American, tapped Washington's memories for an answer to a similar question.[2] Both of these men, participants in the battle, agreed that the British lost because their infantry were panic-stricken, and that the infantry were panic-stricken because they were fighting a novel and invisible enemy in country to which they were unaccustomed. Later historians have emphasized one or another aspect without ever losing sight of that general conclusion. Some have weighed a contemporary explanation, that the vanguard of Braddock's army, falling back on the main body, threw the soldiers into confusion. To others the rawness of Braddock's troops, Irish drafts or American recruits, seems a sounder excuse for their panic. For still others the answer lies in the steadiness of the French regulars, or in the superb fighting qualities of the Indian himself. Military historians hold that Braddock's defeat taught a lesson badly needed for the time: you cannot employ parade ground tactics in the bush. To almost everyone who in one connection or another remembers Braddock this episode stands as a conflict between Old World and New World ways, with the outcome justifying the New.

The new material, without denying that the novelty of Indian fighting in an American forest may have been a contributing factor, permits Chalmers's question to be approached primarily as a problem in tactics. It shows that Braddock and his staff, on the day of the battle, neglected to follow fundamental rules of war laid down in European manuals, that they 'messed up' their formations and never gave their soldiers a chance to demonstrate that Old World methods, properly applied, might have won the day. The fault lay in the quality of the leadership, not in the quality of the men. Official reports, the only sound evidence hitherto

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 4th ser., IV, 367–370.
[2] *Scribner's Magazine*, XIII, 530–535.

available, deliberately suppressed the truth. The significance of such a conclusion is this: that though the great generalizations about close-order formations in the woods, about the trickery of Indian warfare, and about the young Washington's abilities as a commander, may still be true, they are not true as an inference from Braddock's defeat. That story falls to an unobtrusive place beside other tales of incompetent leadership and suppressed evidence.

Facts about such battles as this one can be established only by comparing the accounts of eyewitnesses. Much less can be told from second-hand information, maps, returns of troops, and so on. There are available the versions of seven eyewitnesses, to which can be added an eighth account which was pieced together soon after the battle from the reports of survivors. Of these eight, only three—numbers one, two, and four in the description which follows—have been printed and utilized before. Four of the eight accounts put the blame on the wretched behavior of the private soldiers, and are supported by the findings of a court of inquiry. The other four suggest that the troops were less to blame than the staff. There is no other direct evidence of value.[3]

The most important account is by Captain Robert Orme. He was Braddock's aide-de-camp, and when Braddock died he wrote the official story. He wrote it well and copiously. There are letters of his, all much alike, to the secretary of state, to the secretary at war, to the captain gen-

[3] Among contemporary accounts not written by eyewitnesses is the "Seaman's Journal" printed in Winthrop Sargent, *History of an Expedition against Fort DuQuesne* (Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, V, 366 ff.). Its author describes events fully up to June 10, when he went into the hospital at Wills Creek. After that follows one entry for June 15, to which date he erroneously assigns the division of the army, and one for July 9. Three of the officers with the detachment of seamen were at the Monongahela; the author of this journal is evidently the fourth, who pieced the story together from survivors. James Burd's letter to Governor Morris (*Pennsylvania Provincial Council, Minutes*, in the Pennsylvania Colonial Records series, VI, 499 ff.), the only account which mentions Braddock's driving colonials into line with his sword, is thirdhand evidence; he got it from Dunbar, who got it from survivors. John Rutherfurd, captain of a New York independent company, was with Dunbar fifty miles behind the battle (*Historical Magazine* [Dawson's], VI, 160), as was William Johnston, the deputy paymaster general (*English Historical Review*, I, 149–152). Matthew Leslie (*Hazard's Register*, V, 191) and Dr. Walker (*ibid.*, VI, 104) were apparently with Braddock at the Monongahela, but their testimony is too brief to be valuable. Tom Fossit (John S. Ritenour, *Old Tom Fossit*, Pittsburgh, 1926) and Robert Allison (*Hist. Mag.*, 2d ser., I, 141) were likewise at the battle, but their claims to have shot Braddock were fabricated late in life and their evidence, even if it were important, is unacceptable. The evidence of Charles de Langlade, a French backwoodsman who said he inspired the French attack and told the story that the English officers were at dinner when it began, is in the form of a memoir compiled by his son and as such is in the same category as Fossit's and Allison's reminiscences (Wisconsin Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, III, 212–215; VII, 129–135).

eral of the army, to the admiral of the fleet off Virginia, to Braddock's successor as commander in chief, and to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.[4] The most authoritative of the newspaper accounts flowed from Orme's pen.[5] Moreover, Orme kept a journal of the whole expedition which he later sent, with an impressive set of maps, to the captain general, the Duke of Cumberland.[6] One must give Orme credit for the art of publicity. His was the story passed on to friends—"I have just received an authentic account of the late shocking affair on the Ohio . . ."—and everyone interested knew it. Orme's explanation is that though the officers were heroes, the soldiers were dastards, and that when the vanguard recoiled upon the main body they fell into irretrievable panic.

Next in importance comes Washington, who as another aide-de-camp rode with Orme in the general's guard. He had joined Braddock's army to learn how professionals fought campaigns; no one but a very eager young man would have taken the trouble to keep a private copy of the general orders. He had been made welcome, but detached service and illness kept him away from his friends on the staff for all but three weeks of the entire campaign. He had little chance to learn. That is the point to remember about Washington's testimony. His description of the battle is not the description of a professional soldier; such things, he admitted, he left to Orme. He has nothing to say of formations or orders. In general and even romantic terms he talks of the "inconceivable panic" of the men, their "confusion", their "disobedience of orders", and their "dastardly behavior".[7] The standards he used in judging them were those of the frontiersmen with whom he had worked.

Such a man was Adam Stephen, the third witness, an outspoken Virginian with the rearguard, used to leading a hundred but not twelve

[4] Orme's letter to Napier (Cumberland's aide-de-camp), fuller than his others, is in the Cumberland Papers at Windsor Castle. The others are in various collections: Massachusetts Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, 2d ser., VIII, 153–157; Am. Antiq. Soc., *Proc.*, XIX, 295–301; *Hist. Mag.*, VIII, 353–354; *Archives of Maryland*, VI, 252–254; Pa. Col. Recs., VI, 487–492.

[5] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 31, 1755, no. 1388. Ascribed to Orme by Daniel Dulany (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, III, 11–22), this account contains sentences exactly like those in his signed letters. English versions in the *Public Advertiser*, Sept. 20, 1755, and in the *Whitehall Evening Post*, Oct. 9–11 (a composite account) are printed in N. Darnell Davis's "British Newspaper Accounts of Braddock's Defeat", *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XXIII, 316–318, 321. In the *Nation*, July 30, 1896, Paul Leicester Ford printed a French description of the battle which is mostly Orme's story. This was reprinted again in *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, XX, 409–411.

[6] Both journal and maps are in Sargent, pp. 281 ff.

[7] *Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, IX, 238.

hundred men into the wilderness, a capable practitioner of the backwoods system of fighting. To Stephen the only way to fight savages was "light and naked, as they come against Us, creeping near and hunting as they would do a Herd of Buffaloes or Deer". He gives a point of view, but little more, for from his post with the rearguard he did not see much of the action.[8]

The last of the first four witnesses was Gage, who commanded the vanguard. It was surprised, became confused, and retreated too quickly for so large a detachment. Gage has been blamed, and deservedly, for taking insufficient precautions against surprise. Orme's testimony also incriminated Gage, whose defense was to attribute the retreat solely to the refusal of the soldiers to stand their ground. Gage's evidence therefore supports Orme's main contention that the troops were panic-stricken.[9]

Of the four witnesses who disagree, three were officers in the advanced detachments. St. Clair commanded the working party which followed hard on the van;[10] Gordon was an engineer[11] and Gates captain of a New York independent company with Gage.[12] The fourth account is in the form of an anonymous letter, written with much spleen and pent-up hostility, by an officer who was with the second division of the army fifty miles in the rear. He served as St. Clair's amanuensis, and what he gives is partly St. Clair's own off-the-record comments and partly the unguarded reactions of minor participants which flooded the base camp after the disaster.[13] Not only do all four

[8] Stephen's letter, undated and enclosed in a letter of Thomas Pownall, is among the Hardwicke Papers in the British Museum, Additional MSS., 35593, f. 234. Frank Monaghan of Yale University kindly brought it to my attention and supplied me with a copy. The same letter, apparently, dated July 18, and addressed to John Hunter of Virginia, is in Add. MSS., 32857, f. 216; there is a reference in Evan Charteris, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, and the Seven Years' War* (London, 1925), p. 166, n.

[9] Thomas Gage to Keppel, printed in Thomas Keppel, *The Life of Augustus Viscount Keppel* (London, 1842), I, 213 ff.

[10] Sir John St. Clair to Napier, July 24, 1755, in the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle.

[11] Harry Gordon to ? (probably his brother), July 23, 1755, *ibid.*

[12] The pertinent parts of a letter from Horatio Gates to Robert Monckton, Sept. 5, 1755, were copied in a letter from Major J. Hale to John Calcraft, the army agent in London, dated from Fort Sackville, Nov. 27, 1755. Hale's letter is in the Henry E. Huntington Library, Loudoun Papers, LO 687.

[13] This unsigned, unaddressed letter, in the same hand as St. Clair's letter referred to above, is in the Cumberland Papers. This fine collection contains other valuable materials for Braddock's expedition: letters from Braddock, St. Clair, Orme, and Dunbar to Napier; a map of the route of march from Wills Creek to the Monongahela, with notes on the character of the country and the camping places, by Patrick Mackellar, the engineer; a

fail to lay the blame on the troops, but they hint at something culpable in the generalship.

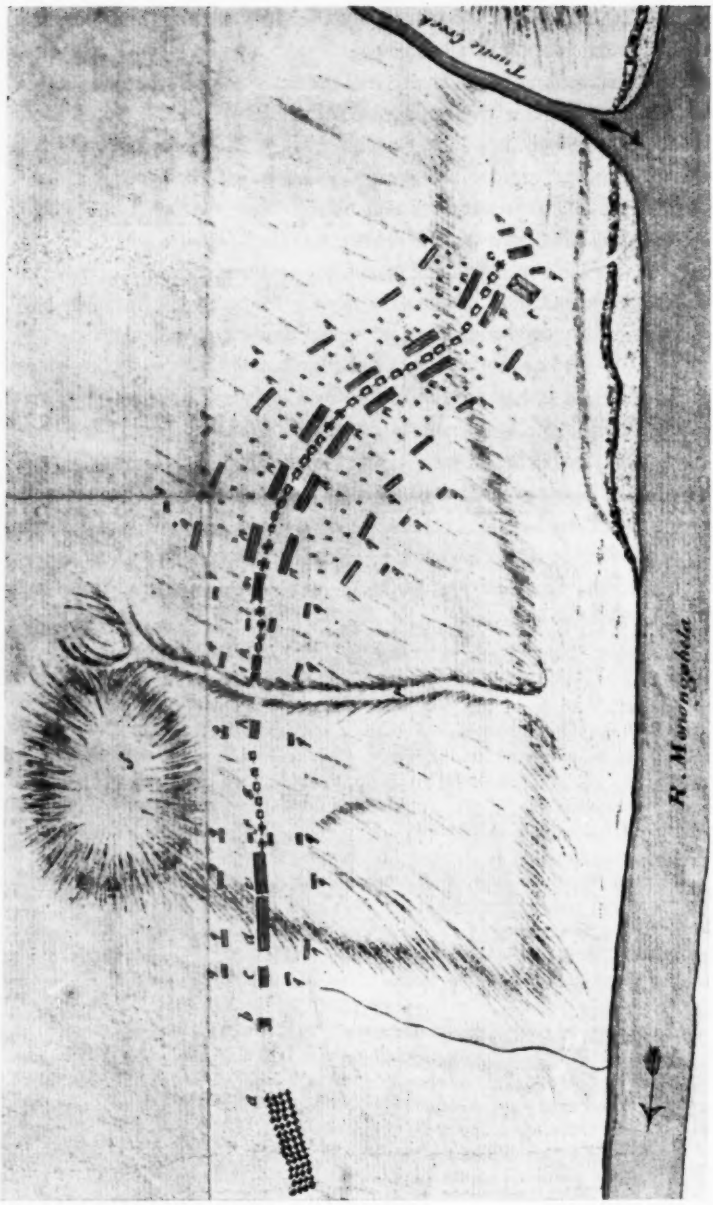
On a description of the early part of the battle most of these witnesses, as well as subsequent writers, agree. When Braddock's force of about 1300[14] was attacked, it was in column. At the head was the vanguard of three hundred regulars, properly divided into three groups, a small body of guides, a grenadier company, and the reserve, but without sufficient space between them. Then came a road-making party of two hundred regulars and Virginians. Only a hundred and fifty yards behind, far too short a distance for safety, marched the main body.[15] Of its seven hundred men, fifty or more made up the general's guard and two hundred or more were detached in small flanking parties of ten to twenty each, a hundred yards or so from the column. The rest marched beside the long column of wagons and artillery. They were actually divided by it, as by a river, into two double columns, *i.e.*, of two men abreast, so that neither half could join the other without marching either to front or rear of the wagons. The rearguard of a hundred Virginians followed some twenty yards behind the column.

Picture the first two groups, about one o'clock on July 9, making

letter from Contrecoeur, the commandant at Fort Duquesne, to Vaudreuil; and returns of troops before and after July 9. These are to be printed in "Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle relating to North America", under the direction of the Beveridge Fund of the American Historical Association.

[14] Braddock's numbers at the Monongahela are uncertain. According to the returns of the forces at Wills Creek on June 8, the whole army comprised, rank and file only, 1736 regulars of the 44th and 48th regiments, and of the two New York and one South Carolina independent companies; 497 colonials divided into ten companies, of which eight were Virginians, one Marylanders, and one North Carolinians; 62 gunners, matrosses, and artificers of the Royal Regiment of Artillery; and 30 sailors. With noncommissioned officers added, the total is 2497. With Dunbar on July 9 were the new American recruits to the 44th and 48th, 432 in number (St. Clair notes that the soldiers who went in the first division were those from Ireland); Rutherfurd's company, half of Gates's company, and Demeré's South Carolina company, 236 in all; and five companies of colonials, 238 in number. Here are 906 rank and file, then, and one should be able to add at the very least a hundred more sick. That would leave for Braddock 1319 rank and file.

[15] The distances given in this paragraph are by no means certain, but probably approximately correct. Gilleland's map of 1830 (Sargent, p. 354) makes the whole distance from the ford to the spot reached by the advanced party 1034 yards in a straight line. Mackellar's two maps of the battle, redrawn but not photographically reproduced in Francis Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 214, supply the indispensable basis for any computation of position or distance. Sydney Dillon in 1909 superimposed Mackellar's maps upon a modern plan of the town of Braddock (reproduced in *The Unwritten History of Braddock's Field*, Braddock, 1917, pp. 8–9) and so demonstrated their accuracy. The estimates of distances made by participants agree fairly closely with the maps. Mackellar's maps were drawn at General Shirley's command and scrutinized and approved by surviving officers.



Mackellar Map, No. 1. Before the Battle

their slow way up a small incline through woods so open that "Carridges could have been drove in any part of them".[16] The summit of that incline curved around to their right, breaking into a small rounded hill, so that anyone stationed on it could look down on them; on their left, though they did not know it, was a hidden ravine, a natural trench, which an enemy could use as cover. As the grenadier company reached the top of the incline, it met the French and Indians, of whose approach it had inadequate warning, running up in front of them. The van halted, formed, fired. The Indians, after some hesitation, divided on either side, to take cover, in a half-moon or U-shaped formation, on the hill and in the ravine. The van retreated to the working party, formed again and fired, and then both retreated a second time, to meet the main body coming up. These two formings and firings, accomplished in considerable confusion, probably took up from twenty to thirty minutes,[17] by which time the enemy had stationed itself on three sides of them.

Now comes the critical point, both of the battle and of the narratives. What was the main body doing during that time? From Orme's hazy accounts one would suppose that Braddock, hearing the heavy firing, at

[16] This evidence of St. Clair's contradicts a common modern notion that the engagement was fought in thick woods. Mackellar's remarks on the work done on the road on the ninth are: "A little cutting, some digging."

[17] Neither the time when the battle began nor the elapsed time can be stated with certainty. All the witnesses disagree as to the first, their estimates ranging from twelve to two o'clock, while Gates alone mentions the time consumed in the early part of the battle: "the Vanguard was near ten minutes engaged before the main body came up". Ten minutes was far too short a time for men to form, load and reload the cumbersome smoothbores of the day, set up the cannon, retreat, and go through the same process a second time.

MACKELLAR MAP NO. 1. This, as well as No. 2, was drawn by Patrick Mackellar, an engineer with the expedition and present at the battle. According to a letter of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, Nov. 5, 1755, Mackellar was in the "Rear of the working Party" (e). C. O. 5/46. At the top of the original map, as also of Map No. 2, appear a brief descriptive sentence, a list of symbols, and the designation by letters of the different detachments. The last follows. "(a) French and Indians upon their march to attack the British, when first discovered by the Guides. (b) Guides and six light Horse. (c) Van-Guards of the advanced Party. (d) Advanced Party commanded by Col. Gage. (e) Working Party commanded by Sr. Jn. St clair D. Q. M. G. (f) Two six pounder Field pieces. (g) Carts & Waggons wth Ammunition & Tools. (h) Rear Guard of the advanced Party. (i) Light Horse. (k) Sailors and Pioneers. (l) Three 12 pounder Field pieces. (m) General's Guard, Foot & Horse. (n) Main Body in Divisions upon the Flanks of the Convoy, wth the Cattle, Provisions & Baggage Horses between them & the Flank-Guards. (o) a 12 pounder Field P. in the rear of the Convoy. (p) Rear-Guard. (q) Flank-Guards. (r) a Hollow Way. (s) a Hill which the Indians took possession of soon after the beginning of the Action. (t) Frazer's house." Scale, 350 yards to the inch.

once ordered the general's guard under Burton to advance, and sent an aide-de-camp to learn the nature of the attack. Then, apparently understanding that more men would be disengaged for action as the flanking parties posted themselves to guard the baggage, he rode forward himself, to be followed by the troops beside the wagons. But the advanced parties fell back upon Burton's guard; in an instant all was confusion, and from that moment the day was lost.

Against this wholesale aspersion on themselves the officers of the van protested in an "advertisement" in a September issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette:*

> It is thought proper to inform the Publick, that in the Account given of the late Action on the 9th of July, wherein it is said, that the Detachment of Three Hundred (which was the Van Guard of the Army) fell back on the main Body, and put it in such Confusion that no military Expedient could retrieve, is a Mistake; the main Body being in Confusion before it joined the above Detachment.[18]

St. Clair's and Gordon's letters, written in July before they knew Orme's public version, tell the same tale. The former found Braddock riding up at the head of the guns; the latter saw the main body advancing "in the greatest confusion". Gates, writing later, says it advanced in column, instead of in line, and so was flanked on both sides. More graphic and more accusing were the rumors which ran around the camp after the battle. "The General immediately rode to the front and his aid-du-camps after him, some officers after them, and more men without any form or order but that of a parcell of school boys coming out of school—and in an instant, Blue, buff and yellow were intermix'd. Soon after an order was given to the main body to move on—(that is, those who keep'd at their post) without any form or order, but that of the line of march . . . without the least dirrection to officer or man but *March on my lads and keep up your fire.*"[19] The new witnesses seem to give the lie direct to Orme. Gone is his picture of an able set of coolheaded officers who would have had the situation well in hand had their troops been anything but frightened dolts. Instead is the clear impression that no one in a responsible post kept his head. The general's guard rushed forward to entangle itself in the retreating van, and was followed only a little later by the officers at the head of the double columns,

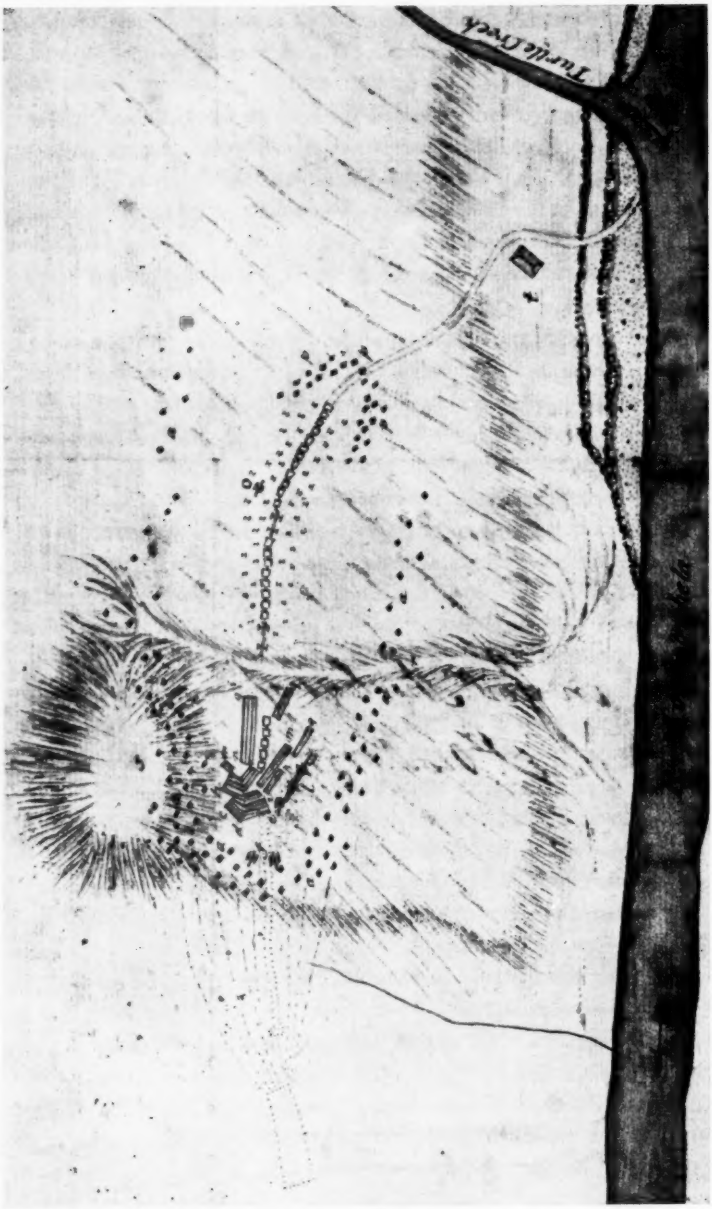
[18] Sept. 4, 1755, no. 1393. Both Gates and Dulany ascribed this notice to Gage and the other vanguard officers.

[19] From the unsigned letter of St. Clair's amanuensis. The red coats of the 44th were faced with yellow, those of the 48th with buff; blue was the provincial and artillery color.

calling to their men behind. The flanking parties, afraid of being cut off, ran in and joined the scramble. So the three sections of the main body barged, more or less in column, into the middle of Gage's and St. Clair's parties, and there at last the ones in front confusedly tried to form, but were pressed into a series of oblique-angled lines, twelve or more deep, while those in the rear remained in column formation. For two hours they stood and fired, sometimes into the backs of their comrades. But all hope of saving the day was lost after that fatal advance. In some such fashion would the vanguard officers have understood the defeat.

These contradictory accounts can be reconciled. From Mackellar's maps it is clear that the main body did advance beyond the head of the column of wagons, and that by two o'clock the whole army was so piled together that disentangling it, in the face of a brisk fire on three sides, would have been a hazardous maneuver even for hardened Indian fighters. The efficiency of close-order action depends upon co-ordination and discipline; a soldier must know his place in his company, and if he gets out of it, with unfamiliar faces to right and left, he is helpless to do much more than load, fire, and reload. Braddock's army seems to have got into that unfortunate predicament; there was a rumor that Sir Peter Halkett, before he was killed, managed to get some platoons together for platoon firing, and that Burton, with great difficulty, got men to follow him in a forlorn effort to seize the hill on the right. The maps offer ground for further speculation. The whole column, wagons and all, it would appear from them, proceeded for fifty yards before it finally halted. There was then left only about a hundred yards between the first wagon and the spot to which the vanguard was to make its second retreat. The double files, before they could form into a line of battle, apparently had to clear the head of the wagons. Remember that cattle were scattered on either side. Moreover, while the advanced parties were in fairly open woods, there was underbrush along the road where the main body marched. But a more pertinent reason may be found in technical intricacies of formation. Eighteenth century drill books contain no easy method by which a company in double column of twos could form into line. By any one of the possible maneuvers—and we do not know what the formation was—more space than a hundred yards would be needed for forming into line, in thirty minutes time, seven hundred men.[20] Even Burton's guard failed to complete its forma-

[20] The anonymous letter writer alone suggests what formation was used. He says that the double column of twos was simply a four-deep line with every man faced to the



MACKELLAR MAP, NO. 2. THE BATTLE

tion before it ran into the van, and the two other sections of the main body, the double files and the flanking parties, once they had cleared the wagons, were in too cramped a space to deploy. Here, then, is the explanation which reconciles Orme's account with that of the vanguard officers. The entire main body, hoping to perform a maneuver too complicated for the nature of the terrain, joined the advanced detachments, themselves in disorder, before the evolution was completed. The soldiers, none of them knowing where he belonged, naturally lost their heads.

Without being sure of details, one who attempted to harmonize all accounts might justifiably accept these two facts: within a short time after firing began, the seven hundred men of the main body had gone forward in a confusion caused either by lack of orders or by the attempt to execute a difficult evolution in too cramped a space; their panic, therefore, resulted as much from the muddling of their formation as from the enemy fire.

If these are right, it does not need an Indian fighter to know that

left. That would mean that each company was divided by the wagons so that the rear-rank men on the left side could not find their proper posts in an offensive line until they were in the open. He also says that the officers were posted to the front "half files", so that when the men faced to the left to form the double column of twos all the officers were on one wing. Mackellar's map can be interpreted in this fashion. But Orme's map shows what seem to be companies staggered on either side the column, and is supported by the only French account which mentions the British formation: "Tous ces équipages étoient couverts par les troupes qui se trouvoient rangées par compagnies, en ordre alterne" (Jean Marie Shea, *Relations Diverses sur la Bataille du Malangueulé*, New York, 1860, p. 23). From the position in which the half-formed lines were when they ran into the advanced detachments, it would seem that Mackellar's depiction is the more accurate.

Mackellar Map No. 2. "A Sketch of the Field of Battle, etc. showing the Disposition of the Troops about 2 'o Clock when the whole of the main Body had joined the advanced and Working Partys, then beat back from the Ground they occupied as in Plan N°. I. (a) The French and Indians skulking behind trees round the Brittish. (f) The two Field pieces of the advanced Party now abandoned. (c, d, e, h, i, k, m, n, q) The whole Body of the British joined, with little or no order, but endeavoring to make Fronts towards the Enemys Fire. (l) The three 12 pounder Field pieces of the main Body. (o) The rear Field piece, 12 pounder. (p) The Rear Guard divided (round the rear of the Convoy, now closed up) behind trees having been attacked by a few Indians. N. B. The Disposition on both sides, continued about two hours nearly as here represented, the British endeavouring to recover the guns (f) and to gain the Hill(s) to no purpose. It was proposed to take possession of this Hill before the Indians did, but unhappily it was neglected. The British were at length beat from the guns (l). The General was wounded soon after. They were lastly beat back accross the Hollow-way(r) and made no farther Stand. All the Artillery, Ammunition, Provision & Baggage were left in the Enemys Hands, and the General was with difficulty carryed off. The whole Action continued about three hours and a half. The Retreat was full of Confusion, but after a few Miles, there was a Body got to rally." Scale, the same.

someone had blundered. Any wise officer with a drill book, far better than a frontiersman, could point out the source of the trouble. The classic military manual of the day was Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline* (1753 ed.). In definite and unmistakable language Bland told how to march in country where an enemy ambush was to be feared. If the van were attacked, the main body must halt at once as the flankers ran in, and by no means should advance until a detachment had been sent forward to find out what was going on. Then, and then only, with knowledge of the situation into which he was leading his men, should a commander make his plans. "An Officer's Character [is] hardly retrievable if surpriz'd without being prepared." [21] None of our first four witnesses applied Bland's rules to this engagement. Adam Stephen had probably never read them; Gage quite formally confined his remarks to his own command, where he had much to explain away; Washington, either through ignorance or intent, omitted all description of technicalities; and Orme dared not tell the facts without smirching the reputation of his commander and of himself.

Due attention to Bland would have corrected what seems to have been another error. That tactician advised marching in the woods by platoons, in order that officers might more expeditiously handle their men. A platoon was a small and manageable enough unit to have been quickly and fairly easily changed from a column of twos, on one side the wagons only, into an offensive formation. Whatever Braddock's formation was, it was not ' y platoons, and it could not be easily maneuvered.

Braddock neglected yet another precaution. The hill to his right ought to have been occupied either the moment firing began, or preferably before the army began to march past it. Had Bland himself been present, he would not have left unexplored so commanding a position.

[21] Wolfe was an ardent student of Bland's *Treatise*. His own copy of the 1746 edition is in the possession of Dr. J. C. Webster, who kindly permitted me to examine it. Wolfe presented it in 1752 to an ensign in the 20th regiment, William De Laune, whose introductory note written in 1761 reads in part: "In the course of the letter which Colonel Wolfe honor'd me with concerning my military studies—he was then on the point of going abroad on furlough— he enjoin'd me particularly to study General Bland's manual and I had an opportunity to discover later what a prime favorite this Book was with him . . . for Bland's general principles and observations he had nothing but praise and I am convinced that these guided his own Conduct and Dispositions—more perhaps than he would acknowledge at Louisbourg and Quebeck . . . I have heard that his siege tactics at Louisbourg owed much to *Old Humphrey*, as we were wont to call him." In the chapter which deals with marching in territory where attacks are to be expected, there is frequent underlining of just such maxims as Braddock neglected. The underlining is probably Wolfe's, for he habitually marked his books.

The day before, when the army descended the dangerous defile of Long Run, the flankers had been strengthened, three hundred and fifty men had taken possession of the hills on either side the column, and a grenadier company, preceding the vanguard, had gained the rising ground between Long and Crooked runs over which the army was to march.[22] But the 9th saw no such precaution. St. Clair, just before he lost consciousness, begged Braddock to seize the hill, but no soldier was even ordered to ascend it until the whole army was helplessly piled together.

On these three counts even European judges would have denied that Braddock was a good soldier. Within a short distance of his objective, he left unexamined a height commanding his line of march. He led his whole force blindly forward into what might have been a complete ambuscade. He permitted a baggage train to encumber the mobility of his troops. This is not condemning him for failing to adopt American tactics. Criticism of that nature misses the essential point, that frontiersmen are not made in a day. Bouquet's regulars in Pontiac's war who won Bushy Run by a superlative combination of regular and provincial tactics had been seven years learning their parts. Even had he wished, Braddock could not have taught his men both irregular practices and the disciplined drill demanded in the siege of a fortified post. Nor is Braddock being condemned for leading an expedition a hundred miles from his base of supplies, or for advancing so far beyond the second division of his army that it could not serve as a support, or for failing to build blockhouses at intervals as did Forbes three years later. These, if anything, were errors of judgment, not of negligence. Nor is Braddock being condemned for failing to whip his army into shape, for being too lenient in courts martial, or for neglecting, either in councils of war or privately, to tap the best brains among his officers. A good case, if there were time, might be made for such criticisms. But it is the severest of condemnations that Braddock inexcusably neglected the fundamentals of the European art of war.

Such a conclusion comes from piecing together contradictory accounts. None of our witnesses state it in blunt terms, though the letters of the vanguard officers suggest it. Apart from the variations normally expected from observers stationed in separated parts of a battlefield, there may be personal reasons why the stories should differ. Men are apt to write about controversial topics of this nature either to forward their own interest, or to ruin the chances of someone they hate. What did these officers have to gain or lose by the tales they told?

[22] Gordon is the only witness to offer this information.

If the expedition had been successful, and Fort Duquesne taken, the gratitude of the home government would have been expressed in tangible rewards. Everyone in the army knew that. It was over the distribution of the expected plums that bitter jealousy arose. Officers who led the attack on the fort or were recommended in dispatches would certainly not go unsolaced. Burton, for instance, commanded the van on the 8th, Gage on the 9th, and on the 10th, the day it was planned to invest the fort, Burton again was meant to be where glory waited. The aides-de-camp, Orme, Washington, Roger Morris, and Robert Dobson, would presumably benefit from their close intimacy with the general. On the other hand, all those officers such as Colonel Dunbar, Major Chapman, and Captain Rutherfurd who read in the general orders of June 17 that they were to stay with the second division and bring up the baggage and the new American recruits were obviously not going to share. Now the colonels were not consulted either on the decision to divide the army in the first place, or on the selection of officers to accompany the first division, or on the resolve to push ahead to the fort without waiting for support, or on assignments to duty. St. Clair, the next most experienced soldier, saw his advice and objections consistently overruled. There was obviously a feud in Braddock's little army, with Burton, the aides and their friends on the one side, and the ranking field officers on the other. Washington, in the only letter in which he hints at dissension,[23] thought it arose because Braddock did not control the appointment of subordinates, and it is certain that every commanding officer in this century was handicapped to some degree by the purchase and promotion system of the regular army. But Washington's wise observation does not explain a feud. The disgruntled officers themselves, if a few can speak for all, were inclined to put the blame upon one man, Orme, the favorite whom Braddock had brought from the Coldstreams, whose slightest wish so seemed to be law that he might "justly be said to have commanded the expedition and the army". Orme appears to have planned for his friends the lion's share of the spoils, posts in a new regiment to be recommended for creation out of the seven independent companies in America. Burton would become its colonel; Roger Morris and Dobson would be field officers; Washington would be offered a captaincy; Gordon would get a ranking.

[23] To Warner Lewis, Aug. 14, 1755 (John C. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, I, 160–161). Years later, in conversation with William Findley, Washington is said to have mentioned Dunbar's hostility to Braddock (*Niles' Weekly Register*, XIV, 179).

For Orme himself there would be Burton's vacant lieutenant-colonelcy in the 48th.[24]

The fine hopes raised by this well-laid scheme faded away with the setting sun of July 9. It was left each man to save what he could. Whatever we may think of Orme, he did not let his friends down. He specifically mentioned Burton, Washington, and Dobson in his official report. Braddock's reputation he valiantly tried to save by throwing the blame for the defeat elsewhere. He could not throw it on the officers, for they, being literate men with powerful correspondents, would deny the allegation. His solution was to praise to excess the "unparallelled good Behaviour" of the officers, and to put the blame, unreservedly, upon that poor dumb ox, the British private soldier. Gage, to excuse his own negligence, reached the same answer. Gordon, on the other hand, who had listened to Orme's blandishments, ran to the cover of Cumberland's protection, and so dissociated himself from the stigma sure to attach to Orme if and when the truth came out. St. Clair said just enough to make it clear to Cumberland where he stood. Gates contented himself with hinting that things were not what they seemed. Stephen knew nothing of these wheels within wheels. Washington's position is less easy to understand. The most probable explanation is that he did not know everything which went on, partly because he was ill for three weeks before the battle, and partly because he was, though on Braddock's staff, not of it. There was no reason why British officers should blurt their secrets to "a Virginia planter, simple and young", as one of them described him; while Washington knew he might be recommended for a commission, he did not know he was on a preferred list. No evidence shows that he was consciously involved in a rather unscrupulous scheme and that he covered up his complicity.

Such conjectures about personal relationships come from bits of dubious evidence. But the future careers of Braddock's officers lend them support. The heads of the army in England weighed the evidence and came to their own conclusions. Their opinions, as far as one knows, were not set down on paper. But Orme received no encouragement in England, got no promotion, and felt himself obliged, in less than a year, to resign from the army. Dobson's name disappeared from the army lists in 1756. Washington's hopes for a British commission were not

[24] The anonymous letter writer and Daniel Dulany (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, III, 11–22) both cite Orme as the villain, while Governor Sharpe as well had heard of the proposed new regiment (*Arch. of Maryland*, VI, 268).

fulfilled. Burton's reputation was under a cloud for at least a year. On the other hand, Gage got a regiment within the next two years, St. Clair received rapid promotion, and of the officers with Dunbar, Rutherfurd became a major and Chapman a lieutenant colonel within six months. It would certainly seem that Cumberland credited the testimony of the vanguard, and considered as tainted the reputation of any officer involved with Orme. But to publish such a scandal, if scandal there was, would do the service no good. Orme's printed accounts, for public consumption, had best be let stand uncontradicted.

In similar vein may be regarded the findings of the court of inquiry which supported Orme's explanation. A court of inquiry, unlike a court martial, did not receive evidence on oath. Old officers whose reputations were assailed never trusted themselves to a court which could blacken even when it cleared them; they demanded the more stringent trial. In the brief report of this particular court Braddock's successor, Shirley, discovered a contradiction,[25] and indeed it reads, as well it might, as if its authors were manufacturing plausible statements. The officers who testified before it were well enough satisfied with the public reports of their conduct. Moreover personal animosities tended to be swallowed up in a disaster which to the world at large reflected on the character of their regiments and of the army itself. To avoid a more searching inquiry, to forestall fresh and hostile criticism in the press, to save what they could of the reputation of their corps, to let well enough alone, they committed themselves to the perpetuation of the myth that the British soldier, who had followed them into a trap which intelligent direction would have avoided, and for two hours had withstood a fire from an enemy he could not see, behaved like a coward.

For personal reasons connected with their careers, then, not one of our British witnesses wrote an unvarnished, unbiased tale. The two Americans probably wrote the truth as they understood it, but they did not understand enough to be of help in solving a problem primarily tactical. Those witnesses who most blamed the troops, as Orme and Gage, had the most to hide, and on the critical points in the action Orme's testimony must certainly be regarded as fallacious.

A fairly convincing answer can be given to Chalmers's question, "What was the true military cause of General Braddock's disaster?"

[25] The report and Shirley's comments are in Charles Henry Lincoln, ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley* (New York, 1912), II, 311–313; 315–323. In one place the report says the soldiers crossed the Monongahela in high spirits; in another that they were discouraged by fatigue and the strangeness of the woods.

It was incompetent leadership, judged not by modern standards, but by contemporary. There was far too little space between the various parts of the army; the flanking parties and the guides were inadequate to give timely warning of an enemy's approach; a strategic point along the line of march was left unoccupied; the main body, divided by the column of wagons, had its mobility seriously decreased; and the main body was either ordered or permitted to advance, contrary to European rules, before its officers knew what lay ahead. For all these reasons, and not because of the strangeness of the woods or of Indian methods of fighting, the troops became panic-stricken.

But such conclusions as these, however valid in regard to the battle itself, are not necessarily true for the entire march. Braddock's army would seem to have proceeded the greater part of the distance from Fort Cumberland with greater vigilance and more alertness than it showed after midday of the 9th. The care exercised on the 8th, and the extraordinary precautions taken in effecting the dangerous double crossing of the Monongahela are clear evidence of that, and there is additional support in a letter of Contrecoeur, the French commandant of Fort Duquesne, in which he admits that all previous efforts against the British column had failed because it was always on its guard.[26] Braddock's staff seem to have lost their alertness after crossing the river successfully.[27] Already they had come a full day's march;[28] another mile or two and they would eat, and camp for the night against a strenuous morrow. If it was wholly by accident that the French, suddenly nerving their savage allies to face British cannon and dashing with them pell-mell out of the fort, came upon their enemy at the exact spot they did, so it was also by accident that at that precise moment the British should be most unprepared. Such a lapse excuses none of those in responsible posts, of course; it merely furnishes additional proof that there is only one safe generalization to be made about Braddock's defeat. This sort of thing is apt to happen when officers are caught off their guard and forget what they have been taught.

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[26] Extract of a letter from Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, July 14, 1755, in the Cumberland Papers.

[27] Gordon relates that when they had crossed the river, they all "hugg'd themselves with joy at our Good Luck in having Surmounted our greatest Difficultys, and too hastily concluded the Enemy never wou'd dare to Oppose us".

[28] The army had already marched six miles on July 9, and eight miles was the longest day's march recorded in Mackellar's journal.

HAS THE LINCOLN THEME BEEN EXHAUSTED?[1]

A foreign wit has been quoted as saying that America is the only nation that has passed from barbarism to decadence without ever passing through civilization.[2] Attempting no comment on this startling statement one may ask whether Lincoln authorship shall pass from its present imperfect state to decadence without undergoing further critical development by historically trained scholars. Lincoln might seem the most overworked subject in American history.[3] But Lincoln is everybody's subject. The hand of the amateur has rested heavily upon Lincoln studies. And not only of the amateur historian, but of the collector, the manuscript dealer, the propagandist, the political enthusiast, the literary adventurer. Also the hand of the Union League has been operative, for in traditional Lincoln historiography, which becomes at times hagiography, the party influence, if not indeed the party label, has been all too evident.

The quality of much of the Lincoln output may be briefly suggested by a few examples. In a book of five hundred pages Lincoln is psychoanalyzed in terms of "mother-complex", "father-fear", "the Eden [also described as a "lost ecstacy"] from which the infant Lincoln had been so ruthlessly expelled when he was weaned", the Madonna ideal, and the "feeling of all-ness or . . . primary narcissism".[4] Beveridge, Barton, Herndon, Weik, and others have concluded that Lincoln's maternal grandfather is unknown;[5] but in order to supply a Grandfather Hanks and thus make the genealogical picture all neat and proper, a certain

[1] This paper was read in part at the joint session of the American Historical Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Washington, December 28, 1934.

[2] Indirectly quoted without citation of source in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 20, 1934, p. 30.

[3] There were in 1934 about 2480 printed cards in the Library of Congress for publications relating to Lincoln, over and above thousands of articles in magazines and newspapers (L. G. Caton, acting secretary, Library of Congress, to the author, Oct. 29, 1934). A bibliography of Lincoln running to ten thousand or more titles could probably be made. The best list, however, would be a selective one that would eliminate a vast number of trivial items. In the present article the author makes no effort to review Lincoln bibliography; but in the *Dictionary of American Biography* (XI, 258–259) he mentions the main titles up to 1933 with some effort toward brief criticism. For titles since 1933 the files of the *American Historical Review* and the bulletins of the Abraham Lincoln Association will serve as guides.

[4] L. Pierce Clark, *Lincoln: a Psycho-Biography* (New York, 1933), pp. 50, 425, 502, and *passim*.

[5] Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809–1858* (Boston, 1928), I, 15.

Lucy (?) Shipley has been discovered whose Christian name has also been given as Nancy and whose marital partner has sometimes been mentioned as James Hanks, sometimes as Joseph Hanks.[6] Another allegation is that Grandmother Lincoln was also a Shipley. Among the bits of "evidence" on the Shipley-Hanks connection is this statement by a Shipley descendant: "I used to hear my grandmother say that she was a cousin (2nd cousin, I think) to Nancy Hanks or the president, but think it was cousin to Nancy Hanks but don't remember just how the relationship was."[7] We have Lincoln this and Lincoln that: Lincoln the "Man of the People", the "Heart of Lincoln", the "Soul of Lincoln", "Honest Abe", the "Genesis of Lincoln", the "Influence of Chicago upon . . . Lincoln", "Lincoln as Uncle Sam", "Lincoln the Kentucky Mountaineer", "Lincoln and Liquor", and "The Women Lincoln Loved". In addition, we have the "Real Lincoln", the "True Lincoln", and rarefied disquisitions on the world significance of Lincoln.

In an anecdote of our own time it appears that a Pole, returning from a lion hunt, wrote a book entitled "The Polish Corridor and its Relation to Lion Hunting in Africa". It is not mere humor to say that such has been the motif of many a book, brochure, speech, or sermon on Lincoln. A dog lover gives us "Dogs were Ever a Joy to Lincoln"; a physician presents "Lincoln and the Doctors"; a Greek writes of "The Torch of Democracy kindled by Pericles borne to Triumph by America's Lincoln"; an author whose creed can be conjectured discusses the "Baptist Training of Lincoln"; a well-known firm in Philadelphia contributes "The Wanamaker Primer on Abraham Lincoln". It seems that this process—taking whatever happens to be a man's dominant interest and giving it a labored tangency to Lincoln—goes on forever. The yearly crop of Lincoln-day speeches, colored by the variegated predilections of the orators, is of staggering proportions. In urging expansion, denouncing the League of

[6] *Lincoln Lore* (published weekly by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Ind.), no. 214; Ida M. Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (2 vols., New York, 1899), I, 7.

[7] *Lincoln Lore*, no. 214. The spurious nature of much that passes for Lincoln scholarship is strikingly seen in the stately birthplace memorial near Hodgenville, Kentucky. The inscriptions indelibly carved into the granite temple which houses the restored log cabin contain amazing errors. The dates of Thomas Lincoln's removal from Kentucky to Indiana and of his residence in Indiana are in error; the date ascribed for Nancy Hanks's birth is unreliable; there is a serious mistake as to her parents (given here as Joseph and Nancy [Shipley] Hanks); there are erroneous statements as to her being orphaned at nine and reared by foster parents; and the date of her marriage to Thomas Lincoln is incorrectly given. Such blunders in so prominent a national shrine offer the best example of the need for competent historical service in the marking of historic sites.

Nations, assailing the New Deal, favoring a big navy, arguing for a stronger central government, defending state rights, or electioneering for a favorite son, orators are ever ready to show what Lincoln "would have said" on this or that current question. Yet the careful scholar need not go far to discover gaps, doubts, prevalent misconceptions, unsupported interpretations, and erroneous assumptions.

A close examination reveals two facts of interest to the American Historical Association: First, that in the preparation of collateral material touching the Lincoln story and in the production of numerous useful monographs, professional historians have been active; second, that among comprehensive biographers who have made Lincoln their main interest the trained historical specialist is rarely seen. If, therefore, one asks whether the historical guild has made significant contributions within the broader Lincoln field, the answer is undoubtedly in the affirmative; but to the question whether the field has been so fully tilled that further returns will not justify the effort, a confident negative may be returned.

The general reader, vaguely aware of the multitude of Lincoln writings, or the historian who has specialized elsewhere, might suppose that the Lincoln theme has been sufficiently developed. If, however, one finds that in the sources there is both spade work and refining work to be done, that the main body of Lincoln manuscripts is closed to research, that no definitive edition of the works is to be had, that genuine Lincoln documents are continually coming to light while false ones receive unmerited credence, and that collateral studies bearing upon Lincoln are being steadily developed, then any conclusion as to the exhaustion of the theme would appear premature. If the investigator further discovers that there are obscure points to be searched, disputed points to be pondered, lacunae to be filled, revisionist interpretations to be applied or tested, excellent studies yet to be published, others in progress, valuable projects still to be undertaken, and finally, that an adequate, full-length biography (comparable, let us say, to Freeman's new life of Lee) is still in the future, then he realizes that, far from being exhausted, the field is rich in opportunity. It will be the burden of this paper to suggest the nature of this opportunity by reviewing some of the unfinished tasks and current problems of Lincoln scholarship as they appear to the historical specialist.

Foremost among the sources are the Lincoln papers in the Library of Congress with which is closely related the Nicolay-Hay edition of the "Complete Works". These papers, partly personal and partly official,

were for a long time in the possession of Robert Todd Lincoln. They have been physically in the Library of Congress as a deposit since 1919, where they occupy 126 boxes; but it was not until 1923 that Robert Lincoln surrendered ownership.[8] This he did by deed of gift providing that the papers were to be deposited in the Library of Congress for the benefit of all the people on the condition that they be placed in a sealed vault or compartment and carefully preserved from official or private inspection for twenty-one years after the donor's death. In a letter to Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, dated January 16, 1926, Mr. Lincoln modified the condition of the deed of gift. He gave Mrs. Robert Lincoln access to the papers and vested in her the authority to permit them to be examined by others; but, so far as the writer's knowledge goes, such permission has never been given. He also introduced a further modification by permitting a full index to be made of the contents of the collection "to the end that their safety may be preserved against the time when they shall be opened to the public".[9] In the same year (July 26, 1926) Robert Todd Lincoln died.

Though the papers are sealed, certain facts concerning them are known. It is evident that the only biographers of Lincoln who have used them are Nicolay and Hay, by whom they were edited under the incorrect title *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works*. It is also possible on the basis of available evidence to generalize concerning the main contents of the collection. Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick, who as assistant chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress attended to the boxing of the papers, states that they contain about ten or twelve thousand pieces dating from 1834 to Lincoln's death, and that about one sixth or one seventh are Lincoln autographs. Over ninety-nine per cent of these autographs, he writes, have been printed by Nicolay and Hay, but he adds that the value of the collection lies in the great mass of letters to Lincoln. These not only clarify the Lincoln side of the correspondence, but are further useful as containing endorsements and jottings in Lincoln's hand. The little checking that he was able to do showed that the texts of Nicolay and Hay "were accurate and [that] they were not guilty of omissions". He further states, however, that they were "too close to the emotional boilings of the Civil War" and that they had the partisan attitude.[10]

As to the manner of Nicolay and Hay as editors a fair criticism can

[8] *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1923, p. 43.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1926, pp. 58–59.

[10] Letter of J. C. Fitzpatrick to the author, Mar. 12, 1935.

now be given without awaiting the unsealing of the Robert Lincoln collection, since many of the Lincoln originals are in open collections in the Library of Congress, such as those of McClellan, Welles, Stanton, and Johnson, while most of the Lincoln items owned by collectors, dealers, and libraries elsewhere are also open to historical investigation. Comparisons between the originals and the printed versions show that the secretarial biographers did not seek to reproduce the papers as they were, but rather to "edit" them in the broader sense in order to achieve a certain formal correctness of the printed edition. They adhered, in brief, to the older canons of historical editing. Where Lincoln wrote in pencil, where he crossed out a word and substituted another, where he committed an error of spelling or grammar, where he used abbreviated titles such as "Genl" or "Secy", or where his handwriting revealed emotional stress on certain words (as in a seeming capital letter or italicization), these peculiarities do not appear in the more proper but less distinctive printed version. Regularly Nicolay and Hay normalized Lincoln's grammar, which meant changing words in not a few cases; they gave the documents an editorial form in the matter of line arrangement and paragraphing which frequently differed from the original; and they always felt free to change punctuation not only in such a matter as correcting Lincoln's habit of writing a dash for a period (almost an earmark of handwritten Lincoln documents), but in constantly altering such details as colons, semicolons, and commas. Changes of punctuation to clarify the meaning sometimes led to alterations of sentence structure, while the unnecessary substitution of "coöperation" for "co-operation" has given the final copy a polish not characteristic of Lincoln. The Nicolay-Hay edition has other defects. It is almost completely lacking in annotation. It usually omits precisely those facts about the documents which the secretaries ought to have known best—*e.g.*, the distinction between letters which Lincoln wrote in his own hand, letters which he dictated to a clerk to be written in his own phrasing, and those which were phrased by a clerk or secretary and merely signed by the President. It fails to indicate the source or collection from which a particular document is taken. In the case of a dispatch transmitted from the President in cipher by military telegraph to the commander of the Army of the Potomac, for example, the printed version does not tell whether the document reproduced is taken from the President's papers, from the transmitting telegraph office in Washington, or from the receiving operator at the commander's headquarters. Yet such information would be useful in discovering a possible error of transmission, of

deciphering, or of copying. When all this has been said, however, it is but fair to add that, within their artificial standards of editing, Nicolay and Hay were reasonably careful and accurate.

It would be of interest to know what documents in the sealed collection are omitted from the Nicolay-Hay edition. Even if they constitute less than one per cent, the student may harbor a pardonable curiosity as to what the omissions are. It is known, however, that the edition lacks completeness by hundreds of items. Besides Nicolay and Hay one must use "Lincoln Letters at Brown", the appendix of Miss Tarbell's second volume, and further collections edited by Tracy, Angle, and Hertz.[11] But this whole shelf of volumes is incomplete in the matter of known Lincoln writings, as the collector realizes when he peruses the catalogues of manuscript dealers and makes newspaper clippings that tell of new Lincoln discoveries. Lincoln sources are continually turning up. Recently there was brought to light a copy of the Howells biography (1860) annotated in Lincoln's handwriting. It is here that we have Lincoln's own statement as to his first meeting with Douglas.[12] From forgotten newspaper files there has been recently salvaged an extended report of a campaign speech delivered by Lincoln at a huge Republican mass convention at Kalamazoo on August 27, 1856. The report, which is better than the average of newspaper accounts, shows this to have been one of Lincoln's major speeches, though it does not appear in any collection of his addresses or papers. His main theme was the preservation of a civilization in which "every man can make himself". Such a civilization he deemed to be threatened if slavery was allowed to spread.[13]

[11] *Lincoln Letters, hitherto unpublished, in the Library of Brown University and other Providence Libraries* (Providence, 1927); Gilbert A. Tracy (compiler), *Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln . . .* (Boston, 1917); *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln,* compiled by Paul M. Angle (Boston, 1930); Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: a New Portrait* (2 vols., New York, 1931).

[12] The campaign biography by W. D. Howells is contained in a volume published at New York in 1860 under the title *Lives and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin* (406 pp.). This particular copy, read carefully and annotated by Lincoln himself, was owned by Samuel C. Parks of Lincoln, Illinois, and is now in the possession of Samuel C. Parks of Cody, Wyoming. A photostat reproduction of those portions of the book which bear Lincoln's annotations is to be found in the library of the Illinois State Historical Society. One example of Lincoln's corrections may be noted. Howells had written (p. 41) that Lincoln had supposedly made the acquaintance of Douglas while a clerk in Offut's store at New Salem. Lincoln's marginal comment was: "Wholly wrong—I first saw Douglas at Vandalia, Decr. 1834—I never saw him at New Salem—". See Benjamin P. Thomas, "A Unique Biography of Lincoln", *Bulletin,* no. 35, Abraham Lincoln Association, June, 1934.

[13] Detroit *Daily Advertiser,* Aug. 29, 1856. This elaborate report of the Kalamazoo speech, though used by no biographer as yet, is of special interest. Lincoln, newly at-

Thus the search for newspaper accounts at times yields interesting results,[14] while at other times it has at least a negative significance. The meagerness of newspaper material on Lincoln's campaign speech for Taylor delivered at Boston on September 22, 1848, emphasizes the obscurity of the Illinois congressman at this time. The Boston *Atlas*,[15] for example, printed a report of Seward's speech on the same occasion in a long column and a third with the barest reference to a speech by "Hon. Abram Lincoln, of Illinois", while the Boston *Daily Advertiser* went so far as to devote seventy words to show how Lincoln "clearly and eloquently stated . . . the Whig doctrine . . .". In conclusion the reporter referred to "the speaker of the evening" (Seward) in such a way as practically to ignore Lincoln.[16]

Among the most prized of historical sources are diaries; yet in the case of Lincoln such material has presented peculiar difficulties. The second volume of the Browning diary was not published until 1933.[17] The diary of Edward Bates also was not printed until 1933, and then not in full.[18] The important diaries and letters of John Hay were "printed but not published" in 1908 in a limited and incomplete edition

tached to the Republican party, stressed the preponderant influence of the South in Congress, deplored the prospect that slavery was to be made "a ruling element in our government", defended Frémont and his party against the abolitionist charge, and put the rhetorical question "Have we no interest in the free Territories . . . that they should be kept open for the homes of free white people?" The speech, apparently extemporaneous, was reported to the extent of about three thousand words by one of the "four phonographers" whom the *Daily Advertiser* mentions as having been used. Lincoln himself had no recollection that any of his speeches in the campaign of 1856, of which he delivered over fifty, had been "put in print" (John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works* [two-vol. ed., New York, 1894], I, 644). A further matter of interest in connection with this speech is the comment of an opposition paper that the speaker "was far too conservative and Union loving . . . to suit his audience . . ." (*Michigan Historical Magazine*, V, 287–288). For a photostat copy of this issue of the *Daily Advertiser* the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Thomas Irwin Starr of Dearborn, Michigan.

[14] For a newly discovered speech of Lincoln, delivered at Bloomington, Ill., see the article contributed by Ernest E. East, *Journal*, Illinois State Historical Society, XXVIII (Apr. 1935), 65–77.

[15] Reprinted in the Salem (Mass.) *Gazette*, Sept. 23, 1848.

[16] Boston *Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 23, 1848.

[17] Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning* in Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vols. XX and XXII. The first of these volumes appeared in 1927. They constitute an important Lincoln source, both for the Illinois period and the presidency.

[18] Howard K. Beale, ed., *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859–1866*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1930, vol. IV. The volume is dated 1933 on the title page. An earlier portion of the Bates diary (1846–1852), in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, could not be obtained for inclusion in the Beale edition.

which omitted surnames. This source, because of various restrictions, is so difficult of access in the original that scholars anticipate with keen interest the new edition of the Hay papers now being prepared by Tyler Dennett.

Another famous diary of the period presents one of the unsolved puzzles of American history. The reference, of course, is to the "Diary of a Public Man", published anonymously in the *North American Review* in 1879.[19] In style and subject matter, as well as in the persistent mystery that surrounds it and the reliance of historians on its contents despite the mystery,[20] the diary is of unique interest. It is presented as the record of a conservative Northerner and it covers the eventful months from December of 1860 to March of 1861. Beginning with an account of Orr's mission from South Carolina to Washington, the journal proceeds with shrewd and stately comment through the secession crisis, recording confidential remarks of Buchanan, Seward, Douglas, and Lincoln, revealing the tone of Washington gossip, noting a conference with Lincoln in New York (February 20, 1861) on a matter which is not disclosed,[21] and through it all reproducing the tense atmosphere just preceding the Civil War with a vividness that makes it seem as yesterday. The comments on Lincoln are most interesting. The diarist refers to the new leader as not yet "out of Springfield",[22] gives a striking picture of an agitated and uncomfortable incoming President at inauguration, mentions Douglas's gesture in holding Lincoln's hat on this occasion, registers disappointment in the inaugural address,[23] alludes to Lincoln's social awkwardness in wearing black kid gloves at the opera in New York,[24] shows the new occupant of the White House under overwhelming pressure from office seekers, and (which is invaluable to biographers, if genuine) records pithy bits of Lincoln's casual conversation, such as his inquiry whether one of his callers had a "postmaster in . . . [his] pocket".[25]

It is obvious that, if authentic, the diary is capital grist for the Lincoln mill, also that historians of standing have treated it as authentic. As a

[19] "The Diary of a Public Man: Unpublished Passages of the Secret History of the American Civil War", *North American Review*, CXXIX, 125–140, 259–273, 375–388, 484–496.

[20] For Rhodes's use of the diary, see his *History of the United States*, III, 223, 226, 230, 304, 318, 320, 327, 340.

[21] *North Am. Rev.*, CXXIX, 137–140.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[23] For the description of the inauguration, see *ibid.*, pp. 382 ff.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

problem in historical method, however, the main point to be noted at this stage of the investigation is that neither the authorship of the famous journal nor its authenticity, which is inseparable from authorship, is proved beyond the possibility of reasonable doubt. The problem is very baffling when one gets into details. If the historian notes that the diarist claims to have conferred with Douglas or Seward, with Lincoln or Lord Lyons, he can get no "cross check" from the other side of these beautifully recorded interviews. Elaborate search has been made. Newspaper files have been studied, hotel registers sought, Washington addresses of statesmen checked with chance remarks as to the diarist's comings and goings, memoirs of the time ransacked, all without producing conclusive evidence. No manuscript of the diary has been found, and no records of the *North American Review* have been located which throw light on the problem of authorship.[26] Internal evidence reveals less about the diarist than could be wished, as is shown when one takes the superficial conclusion that he was a senator only to find that this leads down a blind alley.[27] That he was, if the diary is genuine,[28] a Northerner, probably (at least by origin) a New Englander, not a New Yorker nor a Marylander,[29] a man of distinction, a statesman personally agreeable

[26] Letter from Willis Fletcher Johnson, editor of the *North American Review*, to the author, Apr. 27, 1927.

[27] In summarizing conjectures from internal evidence concerning the diarist's identity, Allen Johnson refers to him as a leading personage of long residence in Washington, a Northern Unionist in sympathetic touch with Southern leaders, a conservative, a lover of peace, a close friend of Seward and Douglas, a former Whig, presumably a Republican, probably a senator, and an active leader concerned with patent rights, trade relations, manufactures, and the tariff (*The Historian and Historical Evidence* [New York, 1926], pp. 59–60). As to the Public Man being a senator the relevant passages refer to occasions when he listened to speeches in the Senate (which he might have done as a visitor), and to his sitting "in the Senate-chamber" on March 4, 1861, as did various dignitaries on the day of Lincoln's inauguration (*North Am. Rev.*, CXXIX, 259, 271, 382, 492). By comparison of known facts with statements in the diary many senators may be eliminated because of being Southerners, having a previous acquaintance with Lincoln which the diarist lacked, being mentioned in the diary, being absent from Washington when the diarist claims to have been there or present in the Senate when the diarist was in New York (Feb. 20, 1861), or coming from a state concerning which the diarist writes as an outsider. After an elaborate elimination and checking the author has been unable to ascribe the diary to any individual among the few that survive the sifting. There is excellent reason to doubt that the elusive and mysterious Public Man was a senator.

[28] E. L. Pierce considered the diary spurious. *Addresses and Papers by Edward L. Pierce*, A. W. Stevens, ed. (Boston, 1896), pp. 393–397.

[29] That the diarist was a New Englander (again one must add "if genuine") is suggested in *North Am. Rev.*, CXXIX, 376. He refers to New Yorkers, to a Marylander, and to "Western men" in such terms as to imply that he did not belong to any of these groups. *Ibid.*, pp. 136, 269, 385.

to Southerners, a moderate, and not a Lincoln enthusiast, seems evident; but his identity is still unsettled.[30]

The important diary of Gideon Welles has also occasioned historical questioning; but the subject is not to be dismissed by any offhand assertion that it is unreliable. The Welles document is, indeed, to be approached with caution, but not with an indiscriminating rejection of the whole record. The nub of the matter is simply that the historian should avoid taking the printed diary as the original contemporary journal, since it omits various juicy morsels and does not reveal the numerous emendations that Welles made in later years. Collation of the printed diary with the manuscript shows, for example, that under date of May 21, 1868, certain comments on Union leaders are deleted, one of them being a reference to the "whisky loving" Chandler and the other an allusion to Grant's being forced to leave the army for drunkenness. By reference to H. K. Beale's study and by consultation of the original in the Library of Congress, the specialist can distinguish between what was contemporary with the event and what was added or subtracted, whether by Welles or by the editor, in the printed version.[31] For more general use a truly scholarly edition of the full diary would meet the case.

It was only yesterday (1930) that there appeared the first critical edition of Herndon, by Paul M. Angle,[32] who also brought out in the same year *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, running to 387 pages. Even the *Congressional Record* has proved valuable, for in 1921 it yielded new letters of Lincoln to Yates.[33] Bits from Lincoln's hand are to be found among the Attorney General's papers and other Civil War archives not yet fully searched. The new National Archives ought to stimulate this type of work.[34] To illustrate the possibility of new Chase material

[30] The best treatment of the subject is the unpublished paper delivered by Frank Maloy Anderson before the American Historical Association, Dec. 31, 1928. At this time Dr. Anderson ably discussed, among other phases, the question whether Amos Kendall might have been the diarist. See also Anderson's biography of Kendall in *Dict. Am. Biog.*, X, 327.

[31] Beale's criticism of the diary, showing that there were "probably thousands" of emendations prior to publication, appears in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 547–552.

[32] *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (New York, 1930). Recent though it is, this important work is now unfortunately out of print.

[33] These Lincoln-Yates letters were published in "Abraham Lincoln", a speech of Hon. Richard Yates in the House of Representatives, *Cong. Rec.*, 66 Cong., 3 sess., pp. 3074-3079 (Feb. 12, 1921).

[34] A mere bookkeeping record may be made to tell its story, as in the case of the account book kept by the printer Gideon which contains itemized lists of printed speeches supplied in quantity to members of Congress for distribution among constituents. This record shows for the Thirtieth Congress that Lincoln ordered 7080 copies of his own

bearing upon the Lincoln story, the Library of Congress recently acquired an interesting document reporting a meeting in Washington as early as December 9, 1863, called to create for each state an organization to make Salmon P. Chase President of the United States. It is significant to note the men suggested as possible leaders of this boom—such men as Henry Wilson, Whitelaw Reid, Roscoe Conkling (with a question mark), John Austin Stevens, jr., Jay Cooke, O. P. Morton, Andrew Johnson, Hannibal Hamlin, John A. Andrew, and John Wentworth.[35] Another item on the Chase theme may be mentioned as an example of rare material which, while not unpublished, is virtually buried and is undeveloped by biographers. The Pomeroy Circular is well known, but there is another anti-Lincoln document written by S. C. Pomeroy that will be new to most readers. Published early in 1864, it denounced Lincoln in vigorous terms, deplored a second presidential term, and hinted that a leader with a huge army at his call might perpetuate himself by military power as well as by patronage. Decrying the "cant about 'Honest Abe'", the author pointed out that Lincoln would "be . . . unquestionably defeated" unless he used military power to control the election.[36]

It would be a long story to describe the resources of particular libraries, but a few examples may be indicated. The important collection of the Lincoln National Life Foundation at Fort Wayne, Indiana (Dr. Louis A. Warren, director), contains thousands of books and booklets, with varying editions of the same work in many cases. It is rich in newspaper and magazine material and also in manuscripts, which include the Hugh McCulloch papers and a number of Lincoln autographs. The Lincoln shelves in the library of the Illinois State Historical Society at Springfield are highly useful, and those of the Chicago Historical

speeches, for which he paid $70.80. His total charge in the Gideon account for the first session of this Congress (ending in 1848) was $132.30, while for the second session, after the campaign was over and the need for public enlightenment diminished, his charge was four dollars. George Saile Gideon Account Book, pp. 154–155, Library of Congress, MSS. Division. For a photostat copy the author is indebted to Mr. T. P. Martin of the Library of Congress.

35 This document bears the endorsement: "Organization to make S P Chase President, December 9, 1863, Important." The names were set down tentatively. The inclusion of a particular name in the list indicated not a declared willingness to lead in the Chase boom, but rather a reputation that would cause a group of political leaders to consider such leadership possible.

36 This pamphlet bears call number E 458.4.P77 in the Library of Congress catalogue. It is entitled: "The Next Presidential Election: Mr. Lincoln—The Presidency . . . —The Candidate Wanted", and is to be reprinted, under the editorship of Charles R. Wilson, in the "Documents" section of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Society contain many unique items. The McCormick Library at Chicago has manuscripts that bear upon Lincoln's connection with the McCormick Harvester case, as well as unpublished material concerning the secession movement in Virginia and the attitude of Virginians toward Lincoln at the time of this crisis. The libraries at the University of Illinois contain unprinted letters of Orville H. Browning, Ward H. Lamon, and other leaders, numerous photostats, and a voluminous collection of newspaper excerpts assembled by Arthur C. Cole. The Library of Congress, despite the sealing of the Lincoln papers, has rich resources on the Lincoln theme in its vast collections of manuscripts, newspapers, rare books, pamphlets, pictures, and broadsides. At the other side of the continent the Huntington Library contains documents gathered for the Lamon life of Lincoln (written by Chauncey F. Black). Included in this Lamon collection are various Lincoln autographs, copies of a portion of the Herndon manuscripts, and a considerable mass of papers to and from Lamon. In all, this library has about 230 letters of Lincoln.[37] While these have been made available in printed form by Angle, this was done only recently, and the fact remains that the material has been little used by careful and critical biographers. The Brown University library has in the McLellan-Lincoln collection a valuable body of Lincolniana.[38] At the University of Chicago there are, among other riches, the extensive Douglas manuscripts and the library and papers of William E. Barton. The Herndon-Weik manuscripts, however, never fully used by any historian, still remain in private hands.

In Welles letters, in Herndon letters, in the papers of David Davis, Ward Lamon, James W. Singleton, Leonard Swett, J. J. Hardin, Charles H. Lanphier, John A. McClernand, John M. Palmer, and Lyman Trumbull, and in many other collections, researchers may find grist for Lincoln studies. It is not merely in Lincoln collections that material is to be sought. The papers of Governor Francis H. Pierpont at Richmond contain evidence of Lincoln's little-known objections to the bill for the creation of West Virginia.[39]

Nor is it merely a matter of finding sources; when found, they call for critical work. On many a Lincoln source we need the kind of

[37] Memorandum to the author by W. O. Waters of the Huntington Library, Nov. 14, 1930; letter to the author by H. C. Schulz, Huntington Library, Nov. 2, 1934.

[38] Esther Cowles Cushman, *The McLellan Lincoln Collection at Brown University* (Providence, University Library, 1928).

[39] "We have great fears that the President will veto the new State bill." Waitman T. Willey to Francis H. Pierpont, Washington, D. C., Dec. 17, 1862, Pierpont MSS., State Archives, Richmond, Va.

scholarly investigation that is seen in Beale's study of the Welles diary.[40] No one can say how many more Lincoln hoaxes will be perpetrated, such as the *Atlantic Monthly* hoax,[41] the Melloni hoax,[42] and various fabrications which now and then turn up on old ledger sheets to trick collectors.[43] The alleged letter of Lincoln to Alexander H. Stephens dated January 19, 1860, supposedly "authenticated" by a letter of Stephens to Henry Whitney Cleveland (January 19, 1883), has been proved spurious by the researches of Worthington C. Ford.[44]

Some of the "new light" on Lincoln can only be described as the "light that failed". When Miss Tarbell was writing her biography it was "discovered" that H. C. Whitney had kept notes of that famous "lost speech" of Lincoln at Bloomington (May, 1856); and *McClure's Magazine* of September, 1896, presented a remarkable reproduction of this speech, concerning which Herndon had said that on that day his partner was "seven feet tall". Alas, however, as Paul M. Angle has pointed out, there is reason to doubt Whitney;[45] and the authenticity of the restored speech is now in question. A full treatment as to sources would show that further editing of Lincoln's speeches is needed; that Lincoln's own reading of newspaper proof is sometimes the ultimate source; that Lincoln's interim speeches during the debate with Douglas call for exploration; and that uncertainty exists as to the preparation and delivery of the Gettysburg address, despite "five copies . . . in Lincoln's own hand, and another copy printed . . . from manuscript furnished by

[40] See above, n. 31.

[41] *Bulletin,* Lincoln Centennial Association [later known as the Abraham Lincoln Association], Special Number, Dec. 1, 1928; *ibid.,* Second Special Number, Jan. 1, 1929.

[42] In this spurious letter, alleged to have been written in 1853 to the Italian scientist, Macedonio Melloni, the words falsely attributed to Lincoln include a reference to "that Rome which . . . will be . . . the luminous capital of the United States of Europe". The article giving the text of the letter, which appeared in an earlier edition of the New York *Times* of Nov. 22, 1931 (sec. 1, p. 29), was not carried over to the late city edition of the same day which is customarily used for bound files; but for shorter references to the same subject, see the late city edition, Nov. 23, 1931, p. 9, and May 8, 1932, sec. 1, p. 21. On Nov. 20, 1931, p. 8, the Chicago *Tribune* printed an article giving extracts from this letter under the headlines: "Lincoln in 1853 visioned Rome as Europe's Capital: Emancipator's Letter has come to Light".

[43] *Bulletin,* Abraham Lincoln Association, no. 34 (Mar., 1934), p. 9.

[44] *Proceedings,* Massachusetts Historical Society, May-June, 1928, pp. 183–195. The "certificate of genuineness" over the signature of Stephens was also proved a forgery.

[45] Angle writes: "It is difficult to draw any other conclusion than that the Whitney version . . . is so largely a product of the imagination that it is entirely unreliable, in substance as well as phraseology." See Tarbell, *Lincoln,* I, 295–299; "Lincoln's 'Lost Speech' ", *Bulletin,* Abraham Lincoln Assoc., no. 21 (Dec., 1930).

him".[46] One also finds that the whole record of Lincoln's law cases before the Illinois Supreme Court is not to be had in the printed *Reports;*[47] that the determination of Lincoln originals is in some cases purely a matter of handwriting; and that important sources still remain difficult of access.[48]

In spite of all the work done on Lincoln, doubts remain. The familiar Ann Rutledge story, so elaborately woven into American folklore, must be set down as mainly legend.[49] The "fatal first of January" (1841), a time of severe emotional disturbance in the troubled courtship of Lincoln and Mary Todd, is no longer accepted in the Herndonian sense, but that is not to say that it is fully understood. On this point important new material, considerably supplementing the work of Beveridge, has been supplied by Sandburg and Angle in their work on Mrs. Lincoln.[50] The claim of William O. Stoddard that he was the first

[46] William E. Barton, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (Indianapolis, 1930), Foreword. Though the writings of Barton are perhaps overvoluminous, Lincoln scholars are indebted to him for painstaking studies in the sources.

[47] Paul M. Angle, *Lincoln, 1854–1861: being the Day-by-Day Activities of Abraham Lincoln from January 1, 1854 to March 4, 1861* (Springfield, 1933), pp. v-vi.

[48] Among the important sources which should be edited and made easier of access are the letters to the New York *Herald* written from Springfield by Henry Villard during the interval between Lincoln's election and his inauguration, and those which appeared in the New York *Sun* of June 30, 1889, revealing a surprising effort to force Lincoln's withdrawal as candidate in the summer of 1864.

[49] Angle has pointed out that the romantic love of Lincoln for Ann was first heard of thirty-one years after Ann's death, when Herndon in 1866 made it the subject of a sentimental lecture. Angle also shows that no reliable record contemporary with Ann's life has ever been discovered; that the testimony on the subject used by Herndon in his lecture and his biography of Lincoln was obtained in 1865 and later; and that at some points the legend runs counter to known facts, such as Lincoln's proposal of marriage to another woman within a year after Ann's death. Paul M. Angle, "Lincoln's First Love?", *Bulletin*, Lincoln Centennial Assoc., no. 9 (Dec. 1, 1927). Elsewhere Angle writes: "Of reliable evidence touching upon the romance itself, there is not the slightest particle. No contemporary record containing even a hint has ever been discovered. . . . McNamar and all of Herndon's other informants were recalling an episode which had terminated thirty-one years before. . . . It would be strange indeed if some measure of exaggeration did not creep into a story so perfectly suited for romancing. . . . Some of those to whom Herndon wrote replied that . . . the affair amounted to nothing. . . ." *Herndon's Life of Lincoln* (Angle ed.), p. xli. On the site of New Salem there was said to have been found in 1900 a "round flat stone on which is carved, 'A. Lincoln and Ann Rutledge were betrothed here July 4, 1833'" (*Bulletin*, no. 12, Lincoln Centennial Assoc., Sept. 1, 1928, pp. 6–8); but any writer who should base a conclusion upon such an unauthenticated item would be on exceedingly shaky ground.

[50] Herndon states that on Jan. 1, 1841, all preparations for the wedding ceremony had been made even to the assembling of the guests, but that Lincoln purposely failed to appear (*Herndon's Life of Lincoln* [Angle ed.], pp. 169–170). In Sandburg and Angle

journalist to propose Lincoln for President cannot be sustained.[51] The extent to which Lincoln went over to the Radicals has been exaggerated. If Lincoln was taken into the Radical camp bag and baggage, why, for example, was B. F. Wade such a relentless opponent of Lincoln, why did leading Radicals join in a secret movement to oust him as candidate in 1864,[52] and why did some of them see the hand of Providence in the tragedy of his removal?

Recent and current Lincoln studies show that new corners of the subject are being productively explored. Some of these studies have come by way of discussions before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association as in the Hamilton-Cole debate at Chattanooga in 1930,[53] or before the American Historical Association as in the Angle-Cole-Dumond-Sydnor session at Urbana in 1933. Geographically the contributions range widely. Without listing the localities or even the states from which they come, which would involve repetition of what is said elsewhere in this article, it is sufficient to note that each of the sections (North, East, Middle West, West,[54] and South) makes its offering. Many of the studies are naturally centered in Lincoln's own state. It is important in this connection to note the activities of the Abraham Lincoln Association, which began primarily as an association of citizens (chiefly in Springfield) to celebrate the Lincoln centennial in 1909 and which in recent years has broadened its outlook and turned its interests

(Carl Sandburg and Paul M. Angle, *Mary Lincoln: Wife and Widow* [New York, 1932], pp. 43–44) the same "fatal first" is treated as the day when Lincoln sought to beg off from the engagement but was so moved by Mary's tears that the engagement was on again, after which Mary, seeing his condition, regretfully but without bitterness released him. It is a tangled and difficult story in which it appears that Sandburg and Angle, especially in the documents printed in Part II, come nearer the truth than any other writers.

[51] Stoddard's claim appears in the *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXV, 171–177; see also his *Lincoln at Work* (Boston, 1900), pp. 11–19, 31–41. Biographers have followed Stoddard's lead, *e.g.*, Tarbell, *Lincoln*, I, 337; Henry C. Whitney, *Lincoln the Citizen* [vol. I of the *Life of Lincoln*] (New York, 1908), pp. 262–265. The claim is that Stoddard in the *Central Illinois Gazette* of May 4, 1859, published at West Urbana (Champaign), Ill., brought out the first newspaper article proposing Lincoln for the presidency. The *Gazette* of that day, however, contains no such article; and though the alleged opening-gun article did appear in the *Gazette* on Dec. 7, 1859, many suggestions of Lincoln for the presidency appeared not only prior to that time, but also prior to May 4, 1859. For extracts from articles containing such suggestions, see Edwin Erle Sparks, *Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858* (Illinois Historical Collections, vol. III, Springfield, 1908), pp. 581 ff.

[52] See above, n. 48.

[53] *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 740–767; XXXVII, 700-711.

[54] A contribution from Wyoming appears in Laura A. White's essay on "Charles Sumner and the Crisis of 1860-61", in the projected volume entitled "Essays in Honor of William E. Dodd" (to be edited by Avery Craven), announced by the University of Chicago Press. Its importance for the Lincoln story needs no comment.

to the more serious aspects of Lincoln investigation, as shown by the stamp of scholarship which its bulletins and papers bear.[55] The *Transactions* and *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society (both edited at Springfield) are fruitful of Lincoln material;[56] and the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, whose editorial work is centered at the University of Illinois, has its Lincoln series. Nor should student dissertations be ignored, for in not a few cases their authors have carried them forward in extra-mural effort, in learned society discussion, and in publication.[57]

Some of the work still to be done may be briefly suggested. A type of research that will prove interesting is an examination of the letters and papers of Lincoln's biographers. One may mention in this connection a series of questions by Isaac N. Arnold to which W. H. Herndon replied with breezy comments on a variety of subjects including Lincoln's recreation, his lack of any ability to sing (the very question gave Herndon huge amusement), his social habits, the nature of his evening parties,

[55] Among the projects planned are the continuation of Angle's day-by-day record, a volume on Vandalia by Benjamin P. Thomas comparable to his delightful book on New Salem (*Lincoln's New Salem* [Springfield, 1934]), a book on Lincoln in Springfield by Angle, and a new study of Lincoln the lawyer by Angle and Thomas.

[56] For a local study in which civic pride joins happily with Lincoln interest, see "Chicago and Abraham Lincoln", by Blaine Brooks Gernon, *Journal*, Ill. St. Hist. Soc., XXVII (Oct., 1934), 243–284.

[57] Directly ancillary to the Lincoln story is the monograph by H. E. Pratt of Illinois Wesleyan entitled "David Davis, 1815–1886", doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, 1930. Only an abstract of this monograph has been printed (*Transactions*, Ill. St. Hist. Soc., 1930, pp. 157–183). Other significant studies by Dr. Pratt are: "Albert Taylor Bledsoe, Critic of Lincoln" (*ibid.*, 1934, pp. 153–183); "Life of John Dean Caton" (MS.); "The Repudiation of Lincoln's War Policy in 1862 . . . [in Illinois]", *Journal*, Ill. St. Hist. Soc., XXIV (Apr., 1931), pp. 129–140. W. E. Baringer of Urbana, Illinois, having published a valuable monograph on "Campaign Technique in Illinois—1860" (*Transactions*, Ill. St. Hist. Soc., 1932, pp. 203–281), is soon to complete a scholarly book on Lincoln's nomination. Economic aspects of Lincoln's election in 1860 are treated in a Johns Hopkins dissertation by Ollinger Crenshaw of Washington and Lee University. Mrs. Mack Taylor of Danville, Illinois, has made a contribution both to the Lincoln theme and to American social history in a book (not yet published) on "Culture in Illinois in Lincoln's Day". J. T. Dorris of Richmond, Kentucky, has in manuscript a solid study of pardon and amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson, the outgrowth of a University of Illinois thesis. Other recent Illinois theses of unusual interest are those of W. A. Harbison of Wayne University on "The Opposition to Lincoln within the Republican Party" and of Granville D. Davis of the University of Arkansas on factional differences within the Democratic party in Illinois, 1854–1858. P. G. Auchampaugh of Duluth, elaborating a subject of research at Syracuse and Clark universities, has produced studies of Buchanan which serve as a check upon both Douglas and Lincoln biographers. This list of studies launched as graduate research topics and developed by later scholarly effort could, if space permitted, be made much longer.

his playing at "fives" (handball), his carriage ("a common democratic thing"), his chasteness of thought and fineness of feeling which existed despite a fondness for robust anecdotes, his favorite authors, and the like.[58] Another letter of similar usefulness is that from O. H. Browning to Arnold concerning Lincoln's attitude toward religion.[59] Nor should the Lincoln student fail to note what passed between John Hay and John G. Nicolay when they were at work on their monumental biography. It is of no little interest to note Hay's statement to Nicolay that "we ought to write . . . like two everlasting angels—who know everything . . . tell the truth about everything and don't care a twang of their harps about one side or the other", and then to read Hay's comment as to McClellan in the same letter: "It is of the utmost moment that we should *seem* fair to him, while we are destroying him."[60] It is not without reason that Tyler Dennett dubs Hay the "Republican Laureate".[61]

Other opportunities for research may be indicated by questions which anyone can ask, but which no one short of a doctoral candidate can answer. Who will produce a truly adequate study of Lincoln as President-elect? What was Lincoln's relation to Seward's negotiations touching the Sumter question? Do we yet have the full story of Lincoln's connection with the "neutrality" policy of Kentucky in 1861? What can be learned of Lincoln's use of the "grape-vine telegraph"? Lincoln was thought to be wasting time in casual chit-chat with privates when in fact he was obtaining at the source an understanding of the common soldier's point of view. What part behind the scenes did Lincoln have in the doings of the Baltimore convention of 1864?[62] What did he have to do with the nomination of Andrew Johnson? Did Lincoln make statements in conflict with his published declaration that abolition was an essential condition of peace? In the Greeley episode he made abolition a peace essential; but he was said to have given contrary assurances to James W. Singleton and O. H. Browning.[63] How far was the nascent

[58] Herndon to Arnold, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 24, 1883 (MSS., Chicago Historical Society).

[59] Browning to Arnold, Quincy, Ill., Nov. 25, 1872 (*ibid.*).

[60] Hay's italics. The quoted portions are taken from a penciled letter of Aug. 10, 1885. Hay requested in a postscript that the letter be destroyed, as it "would be too great a temptation to any reporter who should pick it up". Tyler Dennett, *John Hay: from Poetry to Politics* (New York, 1933), pp. 139–140.

[61] *Ibid.*, ch. XII.

[62] Address by Tyler Dennett before the Abraham Lincoln Association at Springfield, Feb. 12, 1935; to be published in its *Papers*.

[63] Browning, *Diary*, I, 694–695, 699; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: a History* (New York, 1890), IX, 192; X, 115.

Republican economic regime in keeping with Lincoln's concepts, and how far in general can the Republican party be regarded as Lincoln's chart and compass? Does not Lincoln's ideology seem as close to the New Deal as to post-Civil War Republicanism? Was not Lincoln the central figure in a social-economic movement that was anti-Lincolnian? Who were Lincoln men? What men supported him wholeheartedly, what men reluctantly, what men with fingers crossed? What is to be said as to the apotheosis of Lincoln by a party which rejected Lincoln's principles? What, in detail, were the feelings and motives of those Lincoln supporters who deserted the Republican party after the war—men such as Browning, David Davis, and Trumbull? What more can be learned of Lincoln and foreign affairs? Should not more emphasis be placed upon such a slightly known matter as Lincoln's suggestion of arbitration in the controversy over the *Trent* affair? [64]

The subject of Lincoln's relations with Congress involves a whole bundle of questions. How does one account for the striking contrast between Lincoln and Wilson in the matter of presidential leadership and initiative in legislation? Why were so few measures passed under Lincoln which could be termed administration bills, though such was normally true of important bills under Wilson? Why was Lincoln so bold in assuming power independently of Congress and yet so ineffective in exerting influence on Capitol Hill? Why was he so hesistant to use the veto? Why did he sign bills of which he disapproved, as in the case of the second confiscation act, the West Virginia bill, and the measure (signed February 8, 1865) which, contrary to his known wish, excluded certain Southern states from the electoral college? [65] Would

[64] Browning, *Diary*, I, 517. There are various possibilities for interesting studies as to foreign opinion of Lincoln. In 1922 Ruth Williams (Spilver) completed at the University of Illinois a valuable dissertation entitled "English Opinion of Abraham Lincoln". Lynn M. Case of the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, has demonstrated that such a remote source as the reports of the *procureurs-généraux*, long buried in the French archives, may be made to yield interesting bits for the Lincoln story. These reports are now being prepared for publication in the Beveridge Memorial Fund series by Mr. Case. From among advance samples of this material which the writer has seen one item may be taken. Under date of Jan. 24, 1863, one of these reports refers to the Emancipation Proclamation as "vraiment monstreuse" and adds the following significant generalization concerning French journalistic opinion on the American question: "Seul le *Courrier du Bas-Rhin* conserve ses prédilections aux Republicains du Nord." For a general treatment of opinion in France, see W. Reed West, *Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Hist. and Pol. Sci., Ser. XLII, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1924), especially pp. 85–86.

[65] J. G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (New York, 1926), pp. 279–280, 460; Edward McPherson, *Political History of the . . . Rebellion* (Washington, 1882), p. 579.

not a monograph on the relation of Lincoln's Cabinet to Congress (especially the Cabinet crisis of December, 1862) be in order?

What of the common assumption concerning the election of 1864, that McClellan's success would have meant giving up the Union, an assumption contrary to the statements and record of McClellan himself, as well as of the leaders of the Democratic party in that campaign?[66] The stereotyped picture is that Lincoln and McClellan were opposites, that McClellan worked to defeat Lincoln's main objectives, and that Democratic success would have meant Union failure. This arises largely from the false emphasis upon the "peace plank" of the Democrats at Chicago and from a failure to recognize two important facts: (1) that not even the Vallandigham Democrats favored giving up the Union; and (2) that success on the part of the Democrats under the McClellan banner would have been entirely inconsistent with Union surrender. The truth is that Lincoln and McClellan were *not* opposites on the fundamental issues of '64. They agreed as to prosecuting the war for the Union; they agreed as to Reconstruction. Yet the thing that happened after the war was the negation of that for which both Lincoln and his Democratic opponents stood. It was as if the anti-Lincoln Frémont group, whose ticket did not survive till election day, had won the contest. Their radical ideology was that which prevailed in the postwar result. What the election with its aftermath seems definitely to illustrate is the difficulty of saying that governmental policy is determined by presidential votes.

At many points in the larger Lincoln story the historian must turn revisionist. No longer can he explain the antislavery crusade in terms of a New England focus or a Garrisonian leadership. Taking account of the recent study by Barnes and of the Weld-Grimké letters,[67] he must lay increased emphasis on C. G. Finney, Theodore Dwight Weld, the organizing labors and financial contributions of the Tappans, and the

[66] *Cf.* Charles R. Wilson, "McClellan's Changing Views on the Peace Plank of 1864", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 498–505. In this article Dr. Wilson shows how McClellan's wording of his views as to peace, and especially as to a possible armistice with "our present adversaries", underwent modification as his letter of acceptance was worked up through a series of preliminary drafts. From this study it becomes evident that, whatever may have been his hesitation in the actual phrasing of his letter on the difficult question of a conditional or unconditional armistice, McClellan came through with a decisive statement insisting upon the Union as an indispensable condition in peace negotiations.

[67] Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830–1844* (New York, 1933). This volume was reviewed by the author in the *Journal of Southern History*, I (Feb., 1935), 98–98. Gilbert H. Barnes and Dwight L. Dumond, eds., *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké, 1822–1844* (Beveridge Memorial Fund, Am. Hist. Assoc., 1934).

protesting voices of the "Lane rebels". Doings on the Western anti-slavery front must be considerably stressed. As for Garrison, the newer studies make it appear that he was not so much the founder and leader of the American antislavery movement as a bold free-lance agitator and journalist who was not even the recognized spokesman of New England abolitionists and whose notorious name, overemphasized in the South, brought odium rather than strength to a movement shaped by other hands.

Much is needed for the future of Lincoln scholarship. A thorough, evaluated, but not overloaded, bibliography of Lincoln would be desirable. An index-digest of known Lincoln material would be of value. The presidency has received inadequate treatment.[68] In many biographical accounts Lincoln's greatness as President is assumed and passed over by easy generalization or emotional anecdote; seldom is the presidency subjected to discriminating analysis by general biographers. In the manifold public problems and personal relationships of the Lincoln administration lie significant possibilities for investigation. Lincoln's political apprenticeship may be illuminated by a detailed study of the Illinois legislature in the 1830's, the internal improvement period when the state was about to burgeon into a great industrial commonwealth. Beveridge did more than previous biographers in this field; but he did not use all the archival sources, and further work is needed. The part taken by Lincoln the Whig in the shaping of important laws in a Democratic legislature (a subject partly obscured by the fact that Lincoln sometimes drafted bills which others introduced) has not been fully understood.[69]

Part of the advance in Lincoln scholarship will be by collateral attack. Much has been done in George Fort Milton's new work on Douglas.[70] A complete study of Lincoln's abolitionist partner, W. H. Herndon, ought to have both bibliographical and biographical value in view of Herndon's double character as partner and biographer.[71] It would be of

[68] The inadequacy of the posthumously published study by William E. Barton (*President Lincoln*, 2 vols. [paged continuously], Indianapolis, 1933) will be realized if one takes the chapter on emancipation (pp. 436–481) and notes how largely it consists of a mere reprint of well-known statements by Lincoln, Chase, and Welles, and how little it offers any real interpretation of Lincoln's wartime policy concerning slavery. A further example of Barton's method is found on pp. 70–72, where he gives a childish account of Lincoln's alleged visit to a New York Sunday School.

[69] On this subject the writer is indebted to Miss Margaret Cross Norton of the State Archives Division at Springfield, Illinois.

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[70] *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (Boston, 1934).

[71] For an excellent brief study of Herndon, see Editor's Preface of *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*, Angle edition.

interest to know all that is knowable about Lincoln's country cousin and boyhood companion, Dennis Hanks, whose visit to Washington during the war in his new suit of clothes looms large in Herndon. In cases where men of the period have not been treated in adequate biographies, Lincoln scholars may expect further light when such works appear. The case of Governor Richard Yates of Illinois is especially alluring because a voluminous mass of Yates papers, preserved in the family, has thus far been withheld from historical use, while in the archives at Springfield the governor's letter books and incoming correspondence for the Yates administration are missing. The significance for the Lincoln theme of a careful study of one of the war governors is well illustrated in H. G. Pearson's study of John A. Andrew. A new biography of Stanton is needed and the same may be said of Chase. The Chase diaries are not even available in any complete printed edition. The definitive biography of Horace Greeley is yet to be written. It is only recently that John Sherman[72] and George F. Edmunds[73] have found adequate biographical treatment, but at present writing both of these studies are unpublished. There are scores of minor Civil War characters (among whom might be mentioned George Ashmun, Leonard Swett, John P. Hale, Cassius M. Clay, N. B. Judd, E. D. Morgan, John Covode, Jacob Collamer, Edgar Cowan, John J. Crittenden, and Amos Kendall) the further study of whom should add to the Lincoln story. Smith's study of the Blairs contributed to our understanding of Lincoln situations.[74] Allan Nevins's biography of Hewitt contains new contributions on Lincoln, especially concerning a wartime interview between Hewitt and the President, about which a well-known publisher had woven a picturesque but erroneous narrative. The subject of Lee might seem remote from Lincoln; but Douglas Southall Freeman's superb new biography gives an excellent critique of the sources concerning the offer to Lee of high Union command in 1861.[75] One does not usually search in Southern collections for Lincoln material; but it is certainly to be found, as was illustrated in Dumond's Southern editorials on secession, a volume which revealed that Southern opinion in the crisis before

[72] The first adequate biography of Sherman, by Jeannette Paddock Nichols and Roy F. Nichols, is now in preparation. It is announced as a future volume in the series of American Political Leaders (Dodd, Mead and Co.), edited by Allan Nevins.

[73] Selig Adler, "The Senatorial Career of George Franklin Edmunds, 1866–1891", University of Illinois doctoral dissertation, 1934.

[74] William Ernest Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (2 vols., New York, 1933).

[75] *Abram S. Hewitt, with Some Account of Peter Cooper* (New York, 1935), especially pp. 204 ff. *R. E. Lee: a Biography* (New York, 1934–1935), I, 633 ff.

Lincoln's inauguration was not all of a piece, but was a matter of varying shades and colors.[76]

Students who wish to recapture the flavor of the Lincoln era must also take account of such a matter as wartime propaganda. Though the assaults upon public opinion were not so deliberate or extensive as in later years, the phenomena of propaganda were by no means absent. There were Union League clubs, publication societies, mass meetings, floods of circulars, handbills, broadsides, and various other methods of beating the tom-tom for the Union cause. Facts were twisted in true propagandist fashion; documents were forged; rumors were circulated; whispering campaigns were developed. The war of pamphlets was keen; atrocity stories were sedulously spread;[77] efforts were made to win over important newspapers. Drives for recruits and appeals for the purchase of government bonds kept up a constant attack upon public opinion. The activity of orators of all kinds, from the polished Everett to the blatant Parson Brownlow, was maintained at full blast. The United States Sanitary Commission, a welfare organization analogous to the Red Cross, had its propagandist aspect. Perhaps the worst propaganda was that of the poets whose voluminous effusions are read today with mingled amusement and nausea.[78] In the campaign for foreign support the efforts of both the Union and Confederate governments bore in a more precise sense the character of recognizable propaganda. The Confederacy printed a foreign newspaper, the *Index,* while the Union government used special emissaries besides its regularly credited diplomatic agents. Thurlow Weed went abroad to influence public men in England and France. Bishop McIlwaine of the Episcopal Church labored among English church groups. Archbishop Hughes, with instructions from Seward, promoted the cause among Catholic groups in Ireland, France, and Italy. The visit of Robert J. Walker to England in 1863 as the financial agent of the United States government had aspects that resemble modern propaganda methods; while the "roving diplomat", the "poaching diplomat", and the "volunteer diplomat" played their parts on many a foreign stage.[79] There was emigration propaganda;

[76] Dwight Lowell Dumond, ed., *Southern Editorials on Secession* (Beveridge Memorial Fund, Am. Hist. Assoc., 1931).

[77] William B. Hesseltine, "The Propaganda Literature of Confederate Prisons", *Jour. of Southern Hist.,* I (Feb., 1935), 56–66.

[78] A contemporary collection of wartime poetry is found in the *Rebellion Record,* Frank Moore, ed. (12 vols., New York, 1861–1868).

[79] In describing American spokesmen abroad Charles Francis Adams, son of the minister to England, writes: "These emissaries were of four . . . types: (1) the roving diplomat, irregularly accredited by the State Department; (2) the poaching diplomat,

there was famine relief not entirely innocent of preaching; and there were foreign princes serving with the Union army. The Forbes-Aspinwall mission did its bit to mold opinion abroad; and the same may be said of Motley's articles, Henry Ward Beecher's tour, Harriet Beecher Stowe's letter to Lord Shaftesbury, and Cyrus W. Field's numerous crossings.

Lincoln's own publicity methods and those of his Cabinet are of decided interest. One should not overlook his adroit use of formal messages and proclamations, his personality itself as an asset to the cause, his open letters wherein appear some of his finest phrases, and his cultivated contacts with editors and publicists. One finds Seward's efforts to control opinion in his dispatches and personal letters, Stanton's in his sanguine reports, Chase's in the utterings of his Man Friday (Jay Cooke). Surely there is more to be done via the propaganda story in showing the relation of the Lincoln administration to this or that "public" at home and abroad.

Finally there will be the task of interpretation, though it is beyond the scope of this paper to forecast what that will involve. The historian must hew to the line in treating Lincoln material. Not only must he be free from party and sectional bias; he must be innocent of the hero tradition. If Lincoln emerges as hero, well and good; but Lincoln should not be exempt from critical historical treatment, and hero-worship should not be the path of approach. Let all the truth be told, including the squabbles of the war, the muddling, the political interference with military operations, the inconsistencies, the hesitancies, the frustrations of the Lincoln administration. Respect must be paid to adverse deductions that come as a matter of sound conclusion after a thorough study of evidence. Conversely, favorable conclusions are of value only as they arrive by the same critical process. Interpretation, if it is to be historical, must be tied down to foundations. The interpreter must know the sources more than superficially if he would tell a straight story, must be widely read if he would supply setting and background, must know Lincoln's mind and the minds about him if he would avoid misrepresentation of meanings. To interpret will be to avoid that type of writing which takes a bit of evidence away from its setting and presents it as conclusive or as representative of the whole picture. The interpretive biographer must consider to what extent popular acclaim of Lincoln

accredited to one government, but seeking a wider field of activity . . . (3) the volunteer diplomat, not accredited at all . . . and (4) the special agent, sent out by some department . . . [for] a particular object." Charles Francis Adams, *Charles Francis Adams* (Boston, 1900), pp. 353–354.

takes account of the content and significance of Lincoln principles and thought. He must strip the subject of spurious elements, misconceptions, and prejudices, must assess the influences that surrounded Lincoln, portray his opponents fairly, state his mistakes frankly, and distinguish in sundry political controversies between real thinking and rationalization of existing motives.

There are certain questions that will serve the critic by way of diagnosis as to the biographer's fairness. It will require real detachment and impartiality to set forth the mediocrity of some of Lincoln's Whig campaign speeches. The biographer's integrity will be tested when he comes to treat conciliatory efforts to avoid the Civil War, for he will be tempted to assume that the war was "inevitable", that the Union could not have been saved without a struggle, that everything Buchanan did was wrong, and that Lincoln's Sumter policy and his call for troops, though playing into the secessionist's hand, alienating the upper South, and running counter to the advice of his own Cabinet, were wisdom itself. There is a sad paradox here, for if Lincoln had succeeded in averting the Civil War without loss of principle, that superb achievement would probably have made both him and his party less famous. Other tests of the biographer's honesty will come in connection with the treatment of McClellan (a theme for honest criticism of the Lincoln administration),[80] and the discussion of the Emancipation Proclamation so as to show that it was neither an application of Garrison's immediatism, nor the embodiment of Lincoln's main policy as to slavery, nor a solution of the problem of the Negro.

Some interpretation will come by way of comparison. Lincoln as President may be better understood by comparing his problems with those of Wilson. The fact that the popular concept of Lincoln has been drawn by his friends, while that of Wilson has been drawn chiefly by his critics, should not be overlooked.[81] Or again, the comparison of Lincoln's modest autobiographical bits[82] with the autobiography and self-interpretation of Theodore Roosevelt is both diverting and illuminating. The interpreter of Lincoln must consider not only qualities, but degrees of qualities—not only whether Lincoln was an opportunist, but whether his opportunism exceeded what would seem necessary to every practical leader in an imperfect world, and whether it involved a sur-

[80] For new light on McClellan, see William Starr Myers, *General George Brinton McClellan* (New York, 1934).

[81] J. G. Randall, "Lincoln's Task and Wilson's", *South Atlantic Quar.*, XXIX (Oct., 1930), 349–368.

[82] Nicolay and Hay, *Works*, I, 596–597, 638–644.

render of ideals. To interpret will be to avoid merely looking for the familiar. It will mean seeing things anew, judging not by what secondary writers have said, but by a fresh viewing of sources. Some of the reinterpretation must come from Southern scholars. The present vogue of social history, as well as other advances of the frontier of historical understanding, opens new possibilities for Lincoln scholarship. If every man is "his own historian", then every historian can contribute something new, provided he does not make the uniqueness of a preconceived point of view an end in itself. Self-sufficiency will betray the historian: he will need to welcome the contributions of economists, law scholars, military specialists, psychologists (within reason), and other allies.

When the various things imperfectly suggested in these pages have been done, and more besides, the time will arrive for that complete biography of Lincoln which is still awaited. At present writing there is no biography which is at once recent, up-to-date in its use of sources and monographs, and full-length in its scope. Some of the minor biographies do little more than repeat Herndon or, more recently, Beveridge. Each decade has seen significant advances in Lincoln scholarship. The decade of the nineteen-thirties is no exception; and as for the forties it is then that the Lincoln papers will be opened, after which a new set of the *Works* will be needed. Considering the sustained interest in Lincoln, it is not likely that popular writing in the field will suddenly stop. What further products the historical guild will produce and what advances in Lincoln scholarship will appear fifty years hence when the American Historical Association reaches its centennial year, can only be imagined.

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NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A Neglected Aspect of Isthmian Diplomacy

One of the most remarkable agreements in the history of American diplomacy was embodied in Article XXXV of the treaty concluded at Bogotá between the United States and New Granada on December 12, 1846. By the terms of this agreement the contracting parties formed a species of alliance limited in purpose, ostensibly, to the establishment and maintenance of ways of communication across the Isthmus of Panama. New Granada guaranteed to the government and citizens of the United States the "free and open" transit across the isthmus by any mode of communication then existing or thereafter to be constructed; and the United States, as an especial compensation for these and other advantages conceded in the treaty, guaranteed to New Granada "positively and efficaciously . . . the perfect neutrality" not only of the transit route but of the whole isthmian area from its southernmost limits to the Costa Rican border. Likewise the United States guaranteed to New Granada the rights of sovereignty and property which that republic possessed over and in the territory in question.

Historians in the United States have devoted not a little attention to this agreement; but they have been concerned almost exclusively with its bearing on the questions of interoceanic communication that arose subsequent to the conclusion of the treaty. The equally important question of origin has been neglected. On this aspect of the subject the general histories and the monographic studies on isthmian affairs that have appeared in this country since the agreement went into effect are silent. The writings of Polk and Buchanan, two of the high participants, are scarcely more enlightening.[1] Even the correspondence of Benjamin A. Bidlack,[2] who signed the treaty on behalf of the United States, leaves the inquirer uncertain of the forces that shaped the agreement and of the international pattern into which it fitted.[3] What then were the conditions out of which this extraordinary alliance arose?

[1] *The Diary of James K. Polk*, Milo Milton Quaife, ed. (4 vols., Chicago, 1910); *The Works of James Buchanan*, John Bassett Moore, ed. (12 vols., Philadelphia, 1908–1911).

[2] Recently made public in *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs*, vol. V, William R. Manning, ed. (Washington, 1935).

[3] The historians of Colombia have done better. Antonio José Uribe, editor of the

An earlier treaty has an important bearing on the subject. This was the convention of 1824 between the United States and Colombia, then composed of a union of New Granada with Venezuela and Ecuador. When this union dissolved, some half a dozen years later, by the withdrawal of Venezuela and Ecuador, the treaty by tacit assent remained in force between the United States and New Granada. It was limited in duration to twelve years, counting from the date of the exchange of ratifications. Some time before the date of expiration, discussion arose regarding certain of the stipulations. The chief points at issue were the most-favored-nation principle, embodied in Article II, and the prohibition of discriminating duties, provided for in Article III. New Granada contended that these provisions, though perfectly reciprocal in theory, were unequal and burdensome in practice; for, while they stimulated the already prosperous manufacturing and shipping industries of the stronger nation, they deprived the weaker of the only means within its power of encouraging the initiation and development of like enterprises of its own. The southern republic desired therefore some relaxation in the enforcement of the existing arrangement, or some compensation in a new agreement to take the place of the old. But the United States was inflexibly opposed to any abatement or change. Devoted to the principles involved, it desired to see them more, and not less, widely applied.[4] In the circumstances the agreement was impossible and the treaty was allowed to expire.[5]

For a while the negotiations ceased. The American chargé d'affaires, Robert B. McAfee, who had tried so assiduously to obtain a renewal of the treaty, closed the legation and quit the country.[6] The next year, however, a new agent, James Semple, was dispatched to Bogotá with instructions to try once more to reach an agreement. Unfortunately the state of disorder into which New Granada had fallen, combined with

Anales diplomáticos . . . de Colombia (6 vols., Bogotá, 1901–1920), has provided much valuable documentary material bearing on the subject; Raimundo Rivas, in his *Relaciones internationales entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos* (Bogotá, 1915) and his *Escritos de Don Pedro Fernández Madrid* (Bogotá, 1932), supplies much additional information derived from the archives at Bogotá; and other Colombian writers, such as Eduardo Posadas in his *Vida de Herrán* (Bogotá, 1903), and Diego Mendoza in his *El canal interoceánico* (Bogotá, 1930), supplement or confirm Uribe and Rivas. But none of these writers has made any extensive use of the British Public Record Office, and it is to that source that one must recur to complete the story.

[4] Rivas, *Relaciones*, pp. 75–83; Mendoza, pp. 88–102; Forsyth to McAfee, May 1, 1835, Moore to Livingston, May 21, 1832, Mosquera to McAfee, July 12, 1833, Blackford to Webster, Apr. 21, 1843, in Manning, V, 342, 465, 481, 593.

[5] May 26, 1837. See *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia*, III, 839.

[6] Rivas, *Relaciones*, p. 83.

the high tone assumed by Semple in his dealings with the authorities at Bogotá, conspired to defeat these renewed efforts; and, after four years of bickering, Semple returned to the United States with nothing to show but the ill will of the New Granadans.[7] As if to try the effect of a different temperament, Washington next intrusted the mission to the cultivated and affable William M. Blackford. The negotiations were now carried on in an atmosphere of the greatest cordiality. Yet New Granada obstinately held its ground. At last, after two or three years of vain effort, Blackford, in violation of his instructions, made concessions, signed a treaty, and, early in 1845, returned with it to the United States.[8] Thus matters stood when Bidlack, later in the year, succeeded to the mission at Bogotá.

The Blackford treaty was not destined to receive the approval of the Senate;[9] but as it was nominally under consideration, a renewal of the negotiations could not at the moment appropriately be undertaken. Moreover the authorities at Washington, it appears, had grown weary of the endless discussion.[10] Consequently Bidlack was sent to his post without the customary instructions and full powers; and the defect had not yet been cured when the treaty of 1846 was signed, though Polk gave the impression in his message of transmittal that Bidlack had acted without authority only in respect to Article XXXV.[11] The record on this point is perfectly clear. It shows that Bidlack had no authority whatever; that he became convinced late in the summer of 1846 that New Granada was at last disposed to meet the terms of the United States; that he then wrote to the Department of State for authority and instructions; that he waited in vain for such authority and instructions until the spring of 1847; and that he then, in due form, confirmed the treaty which he had signed, *sub spe rati,* months before.[12]

In acting without authority, Bidlack did not lay himself open to serious rebuke from his government, for with the exception of Article XXXV his treaty was in strict accord with American views. Described by Polk as "liberal & in all respects satisfactory",[13] it embraced, among

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 92. For Semple's correspondence with the Department of State, see Manning, V, 559–589.

[8] *Anales diplomáticos de Colombia,* III, 164–165.

[9] It was submitted by Tyler on Feb. 21, 1845. *Messages and Papers of the Presidents,* James D. Richardson, ed., IV, 364.

[10] Blackford to Pombo (extract), Apr. 5, 1843, in Mendoza, p. 121.

[11] Richardson, *Messages and Papers,* IV, 511.

[12] Bidlack to Buchanan, Dec. 14, 1846, same to same, May 14, 1847, Manning, V, 636, 649. The instructions were dated Jan. 2, 1847, *ibid.*, p. 358.

[13] *Diary,* II, 363.

the other stipulations for which the United States had so long and so stubbornly contended, the most-favored-nation principle and the prohibition of discriminating duties; and it admitted none of the objectionable features formerly insisted upon by New Granada. If Bidlack committed any serious diplomatic offense therefore it was in relation to Article XXXV. Even so, his offense consisted in reluctantly assenting to the insertion of the innovating article as the price of the treaty, and not in officiously and gratuitously introducing it as a notion of his own.[14] Indeed, Bidlack did little more than assent to any of the provisions of the treaty.

He seemed, it is true, to be of the opinion that he had played an important part in bringing matters to a head. He declared in one of his dispatches, late in November, 1846, that he thought he had prepared the way for the isthmian agreement.[15] The evidence, however, shows that the way had been prepared not by the puny efforts of any individual, but by the inexorable force of events—events that led New Granada to believe that its territorial integrity, and perhaps even its very existence as an independent nation, were at stake. On the isthmian frontier the British were making encroachments which seemed to portend a serious loss of territory in that quarter, including possibly the Isthmus of Panama itself.[16] On the southern horizon still more serious dangers loomed. For years Ecuador, or, more properly speaking, its president, Juan José Flores, had been a source of trouble to New Granada. Recently forced into exile, Flores had gone to Europe, and with British and Spanish aid, and perhaps French and Portuguese support as well, had organized an armed expedition which was now expected momentarily to sail for Ecuador. The restoration of Flores would not have been of itself a source of great concern, but, sustained and encouraged by European powers, it seemed to forbode the subjection of Ecuador and the neighboring republics as well to foreign control.[17] It was in the

[14] Bidlack to Buchanan, Dec. 9 and 10, 1846, Manning, V, 628, 633.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 628.

[16] The best account of the Mosquito question from the New Granadan point of view is found in a series of articles written by Pedro Fernández Madrid and published in *El día* of Bogotá from June to November, 1846, under the general title of "Nuestras Costas Incultas". The Library of Congress possesses a volume of *El día* embracing these articles. Recently they have been reproduced by Raimundo Rivas in Volume I of *Escritos de don Pedro Fernández Madrid*. Fernández Madrid was for many years an underofficial in the department of foreign relations at Bogotá.

[17] Walter Cope (British Consul General at Quito) to Palmerston, Nov. 7, 1846, Foreign Office, 97/156; Jewett to Buchanan, Dec. 10, 1846, Department of State, Despatches from Peru, vol. VII.

midst of this state of affairs that New Granada was precipitated into the arms of the United States.

The encroachments on the isthmian shore had been progressing for some time. The motive, in part at least, was the desire of Great Britain to control the routes of isthmian transit in compensation for the westward march of the United States; [18] and they were given a color of justification by the specious claim that since Spain had never occupied or possessed the territory in dispute, the revolutionary governments could not have gained title to it by the right of succession. The first overt act occurred in 1839, when Colonel Alexander Macdonald, superintendent of Belize, raised the British flag over the Bay Islands off the coast of Honduras, notwithstanding the fact that Great Britain had renounced all claim to those islands more than fifty years before. The next step was to revive and make effective the claim once asserted, and likewise renounced, to a right of protection over the Mosquito Indians. In pursuance of this purpose, Colonel Macdonald undertook to eject intruders from the Mosquito territory. Accompanied by the Mosquito king, he proceeded in 1841 to the port of San Juan at the eastern terminus of what was then regarded as the most feasible route for a ship canal, and, going ashore with an armed party, expelled the Nicaraguan forces in command of the place.[19] Setting up a Mosquito administration to take over the affairs of the port, he embarked for the New Granadan village of Bocas del Toro on the Chiriquí Lagoon farther down the coast. Here, however, display of the Mosquito flag, salutes to the Mosquito king, and intimations of a future assertion of Mosquito rights, took the place of forcible ejection.[20] But as these measures—usurpations, expulsions, and warnings—proved inadequate, the British took another and more decisive step; that is, they assumed under a thin disguise the actual administration of affairs on the Mosquito shore.[21]

The New Granadans observed these proceedings with much uneasiness. They were disturbed not only by the fear of further encroachment in the direction of the Isthmus of Panama, but by the usurpations

[18] As early as 1816 Lord Castlereagh warned J. Q. Adams that England might act *defensively* if the United States encroached upon its neighbors. See Adams, *Writings*, V, 502; also Rivas, *Escritos*, I, 273.

[19] Lorenzo Montúfar, *Reseña histórica de Centro América* (7 vols., Guatemala, 1878–1888), IV, 93 ff.; Macdonald to Chief of the State of Nicaragua, Aug. 15, 1841, and Aberdeen to Chatfield, Apr. 13, 1842, F. O., 15/25, 29.

[20] "Nuestras Costas Incultas", in Rivas, *Escritos*, I, 231–233.

[21] In 1844 Patrick Walker was sent to Bluefields, capital of the mock kingdom, and as British agent and consul general he ruled the country during the next few years. His instructions and early correspondence are found in F. O., 53/1.

already effected in the name of the Mosquito king; for they claimed the territory usurped, embracing nearly the whole of the littoral of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, as a part of their national domains. Whether the claim was justified or not, the New Granadan authorities asserted it vigorously and in apparent good faith.[22] Moreover they tried by every means to convince Great Britain of the justice of their cause. Failing in that, they succumbed to fear and mistrust. In the circumstances they were disposed to regard mere rumors as facts, and irresponsible proposals as evidence of Britain's evil designs.

An incident which occurred shortly before the treaty negotiations with Bidlack were commenced will serve to illustrate the point. Certain articles supposed to have been written by someone connected with British administration of the Mosquito kingdom and published in the *Albion* of New York, were translated and reproduced in the *Seminario de Cartagena* in its issue of June 14, 1846. The purport of the articles was to suggest that a British protectorate be established over the San Blas Indians, who occupied the territory just east of the Chagres-Panama route, and that a communication through this territory from sea to sea be established under British auspices. Such a proposal in normal times might have passed for what it doubtless was—the unauthorized act of some obscure zealot in the British cause. Coming as it did, however, on the heels of other disturbing events, its effect was to deepen the feeling of apprehension. As nothing, it appeared, could be gained by further parley with England, an appeal to public opinion was resorted to. The preparation of the appeal was intrusted to Pedro Fernández Madrid, who was marked for the task by habits of investigation and a trenchant style. Taking the articles which appeared in the *Seminario de Cartagena* as his point of departure, Fernández Madrid wrote, during the summer and fall of 1846, the series of articles which have been so justly celebrated as a contribution to the history of the Mosquito question. Widely read in New Granada, the articles served to consolidate the national sentiment against Great Britain, and, furnished to foreign governments, they produced, in some degree no doubt, a like effect abroad.[23]

In the midst of the excitement occasioned by these events, definite

[22] The basis of the New Granadan claim was the Royal Order of San Lorenzo of Nov. 30, 1803, by the terms of which, the government at Bogotá contended, the territory in question was definitely attached to the viceroyalty of New Granada. See "Nuestras Costas Incultas", in Rivas, *Escritos*, I, 248. The British held (Chatfield to Palmerston, Jan. 30, 1847, F. O., 15/46) that the order was for military purposes only and could not make a political and jurisdictional change in the administration of the country.

[23] Rivas, *Escritos*, I, 183, 298.

news of the Flores intrigue reached Bogotá. Upon his expulsion from Ecuador, Flores had been received with open arms in Spain. There, in the summer of 1846, he laid the foundations of his enterprise. Very soon he extended his preparations to the British Isles where ships, supplies, and recruits were to be obtained. By the middle of November much progress had been made. Three or four vessels, it appears, had already departed for the rendezvous in Spain.[24] Two steam vessels, the *Neptune* and the *Monarch,* which had been acquired from the General Steam Navigation Company and which were now in the docks of the East India Company being converted into ships of war, were about ready to sail. Another steamer, the *Glenelg,* which was to be used as a transport, was in an equally forward state of preparation. An order for 30,000 muskets, thought to be for the expedition, was being completed at Birmingham. Recruiting, particularly in Ireland, was going on openly and with a success alarming to some of the communities whose sons were enrolling in the enterprise. The principal place of meeting for the officers was the Prince of Wales Club in London, under the very eyes of the British cabinet;[25] and yet, no official notice was taken of these activities, though it was notorious from the start that they were in violation of the Foreign Enlistment Act.

The inertia of the British government resulted in a public outcry which grew in volume as the preparations went forward. Late in October a stream of memorials began to pour into the foreign office imploring such action as might be necessary to prevent the departure of the expedition. The first of these petitions to be presented was signed by a group of merchants and other residents of London, headed by the renowned firm of Baring Brothers. Soon there were others. One from the merchants and manufacturers of Manchester urged intervention to protect the common interests of trade and to preserve the "national faith and honor"; another of like tenor came from Liverpool; another was sent in by the Committee of the South American and Mexican Association in the form of a letter signed by the Chairman, J. D. Powles; and another, originating in Glasgow, was signed by forty-two firms and prominent residents of that city. This last, one of the strongest of the memorials, recited the facts at length and concluded with the warning

[24] Pedro Dávalos y Lissón, *La primera centuria* (4 vols., Lima, 1919–1926), IV, 77; printed statement signed "Equatoriano" received at the Foreign Office in Dec., 1846, F. O., 97/156; Rivas, *Escritos,* I, 303; London *Times,* Nov. 28, 1846; Report (unsigned), Nov. 3, 1846, F. O., 97/156.

[25] Memorial of the Committee of the South American and Mexican Association, in F. O., 97/156; Report, Nov. 3, 1846, *ibid.*

that if the expedition were not stopped, the outcome would be fatal alike to British life and to British interests.[26] Yet representations such as these, backed though they were by the most powerful influences in the kingdom, could not alone move the government to act. It required the additional weight of South American opinion—the opinion of New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires—to achieve the desired result.[27]

Though protest finally did its work, Lord Palmerston, the spokesman for the government, yielded to it reluctantly and with bad grace. At first he professed ignorance of anything being done contrary to law.[28] It was for those who had knowledge of the facts to take such action as they might think fit. The government, he asserted, could not prevent British subjects from emigrating, nor interfere with vessels sailing with passengers on board, nor hinder legal commerce in warlike stores. Nevertheless he moved the Home Office to cause inquiries to be made. Two reports, both dated November 3, were soon in his hands.[29] These reports confirmed the charges as to enlistments and as to the conversion of the steamers into warships. Yet it was not until the end of the month that the vessels at last were seized. On the *Glenelg* were found besides the crew two hundred and fifty young men. The officers in charge of the vessel frankly admitted that all on board had enlisted as soldiers or marines. An inspection of the other vessels left no doubt as to the purpose for which they were intended. Nor did Flores himself deny the purpose for which the expedition had been organized.[30]

The arrest of the vessels was still unknown at Bogotá on December 12, when the treaty was signed. Two days before the signing Bidlack wrote Buchanan:

> I have this morning received a letter from our Consul in *Guayaquil* under date of Nov. 16th stating that Equador and Peru are both in a state of much alarm at the threatened invasion of General Flores under the alledged protection and assistance of the Spanish and English Governments. In connection with these reports, different members of the cabinet of the New Granadian Government have enquired of me whether in my opinion the Government of the United States would adhere to the declared policy of not silently permitting the interference of European Governments to change the Governments

[26] These memorials are all found in F. O., 97/156.

[27] H. U. Addison to Home Office, Oct. 26, 1846, and Cope to Palmerston, Nov. 7, 1846, *ibid.*

[28] H. U. Addison to J. D. Powles, Oct. 26, 1846, *ibid.*

[29] F. O., 97/156.

[30] Flores to Palmerston, Dec. [Jan. ?] 9, 1847, F. O., 97/156. A fair account of the seizures was published in the London *Times* for Nov. 28, 1846.

of the South American Republics against the wishes of the people of those Republics. . . .

The fact is that the eyes of the government and the people of New Granada seem to be turned towards the United States for protection in this threatened emergency, and I have thought it to be my duty to inform you of the fact.[31]

It is unlikely that the news of the arrest would have had any calming effect even if it had been known in time, for the mistrust of England was now deep-seated. The long dispute over Mosquito had matured its fruit. Moreover the connection between Palmerston and Flores had produced misgivings which could not instantly be removed. This connection seems to have been established at the initiative of Flores. At first, a certain Colonel Richard Wright, afterward chief recruiting officer for the expedition in Ireland, served as the intermediary. A little while later there was a direct exchange of letters, with Flores averring that his proceedings were innocent and Palmerston declining to express an opinion on the subject. When Wright left to undertake his recruiting duties, Flores designated José Joaquín Mora, a Spaniard of some note and a former adherent of the independence cause in Spanish America, as the go-between. Mora was to give Palmerston the fullest explanations and to receive such information and counsel as his Lordship might wish to transmit in return. In effect, Mora called at the foreign office, had a cordial interview with Palmerston, and then set off to report to Flores.[32] What passed on this and other like occasions during the summer and fall of 1846 is not known. It is impossible therefore to say what degree of innocence or guilt the connection involved.

Manifestly the balance inclines to the side of guilt; and it inclines more decidedly when the weight of subsequent events is cast into the scales. A few weeks after the seizure of the vessels, Flores was in London seeking as an "old and devoted" friend of Great Britain the return of his property. To this end he wrote a letter to Lord Palmerston stating in pathetic terms the grounds of his petition and beseeching an interview. Palmerston replied, setting a time for the meeting and expressing pleasure at the opportunity of making the acquaintance of "so distinguished a Person"; but he was sorry to say that Her Majesty's government could not interfere with the legal proceedings in which the vessels were involved. Four months later, Palmerston instructed the British consul general at Quito to urge upon the government of Ecuador the

[31] Manning, V, 629–630.

[32] Flores to Palmerston, Sept. [ ], 1846, and Palmerston to Flores, Oct. 3, 1846, F. O., 97/156.

propriety and justice of restoring to General Flores the property belonging to him in that republic, which property had been confiscated, Palmerston contended, in violation of an agreement made at the time Flores was forced into exile.[33] After that, nothing appears in the record for more than a year. But the connection between the British minister for foreign affairs and the redoubtable Ecuadorian was not broken.

About the middle of 1848 Flores returned to the New World. After an unsuccessful attempt to establish a residence in Panama, he proceeded to San José de Costa Rica, where he tarried for a while to try his hand at fresh intrigues.[34] Associated with him in his new undertakings was his former recruiting officer, Colonel Wright, who managed by some means to obtain from Costa Rica the appointment of confidential agent before the government of Jamaica.[35] Here again was a channel of communication with the foreign office; and through it there soon passed a proposal for the establishment of a British protectorate over Costa Rica.[36] The plan may have been broached before Flores left England. At any rate it was favorably considered for a while and then abandoned. But the fertile mind of Flores was soon ready with another scheme: the erection of a monarchy in Mexico and Central America to stop the advance of the barbarians of the North.

Attached to the long letter in which Flores made this proposal, is a minute in Palmerston's handwriting. It reads as follows:

> Thank him for his friendly Communication and say that I shall always be glad to hear from him and to receive by means of his letters the opinions which so distinguished an American Statesman may from Time to Time form of the Progress of Events in America and of the future Prospects of that interesting Quarter of the globe.[37]

The coming of the Whigs to power in the United States in 1849, produced a striking change in the isthmian situation. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty, soon concluded, lessened the tension at every point. But it brought no good to General Flores. It left him in effect without a job. Lord Palmerston had no further need for his services, and the Costa Ricans, who had obligingly submitted to his intervention in their

[33] Jan. 9, 14, May 16, 1847, *ibid.*

[34] Flores to Palmerston, Oct. 13, 1848, F. O., 21/1.

[35] Calvo to Wright, Oct. 15, 1848, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Costa Rica. See also, in F. O. 53/11, a copy of a paper dated Oct. 15, 1848, and entitled "Mis Opiniones". The name attached to the document is that of J. M. Flores, but that must have been an error of the copyist. The paper sets forth in detail a plan for the protectorate and is clearly the work of J. J. Flores.

[36] Flores to Palmerston, Oct. 13, 1848, and Wright to Palmerston, F. O., 21/1.

[37] Flores to Palmerston, Dec. 15, 1849, F. O., 21/2.

affairs, were now eager to see him depart.[38] In 1851, he found a doubtful welcome in Peru. Until his death, a dozen years or more later, he was a trouble-maker in the southern republics; and as the odor of his foreign, and particularly his British, connection clung to him to the end, his presence was at once a reminder of dangers past and a presage of evils to be feared.

The southern republics, it seems fair to conclude in the light of these later events, were justified in regarding the Flores expedition with the most serious concern. Hitherto they had counted on British opposition to nullify schemes of reconquest such as that of 1846. Now it appeared the policy had been reversed. England was on the side of intervention. The consequences were extraordinary. By electing to meet the aggressions of the United States in the north by aggressions of her own in the south, England presented to the republics in Central and South America what seemed to them to be a choice between two evils: possible return to the colonial status or possible domination by the Colossus of the North. One of these evils, colonial subjection, all alike had formerly endured, and that one all preferred to shun.[39] New Granada's decision was prompt and conclusive. It lies recorded in Article XXXV.

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[38] Chatfield to Palmerston, Mar. 8, 1850, and same to same, Mar. 25, 1851, F. O., 15/64, 70.

[39] A congress of American states held at Lima in 1847 had as one of its objects the prevention of such undertakings as that contemplated by Flores. The war between the United States and Mexico was at the same time a matter of less concern. On this subject see, particularly, J. M. Torres Caicedo, *Unión Latino-Americana* (Paris, 1865), pp. 25, 45; Manning, V, 641–646; and J. Randolph Clay to Buchanan, Jan. 12, 1848, Dept. St., Despatches from Peru, vol. VII.

DOCUMENTS

The Second Congress of the Confederate States
Enactments at its Second and Last Session

THE *Statutes at Large of the Confederate States of America* were published annually, in style and quality of paper equal "to the edition of the laws of the United States, as annually published by Little and Brown" (Provisional Congress, sess. III, ch. XIV, Aug. 5, 1861). The authorized edition of the statutes was prepared under the editorship of the law clerk in the Department of Justice (James M. Matthews) and printed by the printer to Congress (R. M. Smith, Richmond, 1864). All enactments of the Congress were recorded in a single series in a Register of Acts (unpublished manuscript, now owned by Duke University); but the statutes as published were divided under four headings—namely, the Public Acts, the Public Resolutions, the Private Acts, and the Private Resolutions. Those acts and resolutions passed in secret session and from which the injunction to secrecy had not been removed were, naturally, excluded from publication. The acts and resolutions of the five sessions of the Provisional Congress were brought out in one large volume; but the four sessions of the First Congress and the first session of the Second Congress were printed in individual pamphlets. The session laws of the second or last session of the Second Congress were not published for lack of time. The Congress adjourned on March 18, 1865, and Richmond was evacuated fifteen days later. In the interim, however, as required by statute, the Attorney General had selected those laws "of a public nature, and which, in his judgment, require immediate publication", and had given them to the contract gazettes, in many of which they were appearing as public notices at the time of the collapse of the government. But a complete list of the titles of the acts and resolutions of this session is here given for the first time.

The author prepared the list incidentally to his researches for a judicial history of the Confederate States. It was compiled from the approval messages of the President as contained in the *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904); and has been checked against the Register of Acts. The classification usual to the printed statutes has been adhered to, with the exception that the titles of the secret acts and resolutions have been added

immediately following those passed in open session. The bill number is shown in each title, though this information is not contained in the *Statutes at Large,* nor is it given in the Register of Acts.

In connection with the secret laws, it may be interesting to observe that the injunction to secrecy was never removed from Chapter 2, "An act to provide for the appointment of a general in chief of the armies of the Confederate States", approved on January 23, 1865. This was probably an inadvertence, because the subsequent nomination of General Lee (Jan. 31, 1865) was not made in secrecy, and the text of the act was published in General Orders, No. 3, Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, Richmond, February 6, 1865, with the announcement of Lee's appointment to the supreme command.

The text of a good many of the laws listed below may be found in the *Official Records* (Army and Navy series), in sundry Confederate newspapers, in the handbill collections of the Virginia State Library, and elsewhere; but the bulk of the enrolled acts and resolutions are in the library of Duke University. The complete collection and publication of these enactments would constitute a valuable contribution to the source literature of the Confederacy.

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Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia.

I. Public Acts passed in Open Session: Statute II, 1864–1865

Chapter Titles

1. An act [S. 103] to amend an act entitled "An act to organize forces to serve during the war", approved February 17, 1864. *Nov. 22, 1864.*
2. An act [S. 90] to amend the third section of an act entitled "An act to organize forces to serve during the war", approved February 17, 1864. *Nov. 28.*
3. An act [S. 91] to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to exchange coupon bonds for 7.30 Treasury notes.[1]
4. An act [H. R. 238] to increase the salary of the judge of the district court for the eastern district of Virginia for a limited time. *Dec. 9.*
5. An act [H. R. 241] to fix the salaries of district judges for a limited time. *Dec. 10.*
6. An act [H. R. 190] concerning the emoluments and pay of the clerk of the district court of the Confederate States of America for the eastern district of Virginia. *Dec. 13.*
7. An act [H. R. 270] to provide for the printing ordered by either House of Congress. *Dec. 15.*
8. An act [H. R. 224] to punish certain frauds on the Confederate govern-

[1] Where no date is printed in italics, the date is the same as that next above.

ment, including larceny and embezzlement of property of the government. *Dec. 19.*

9. An act [H. R. 283] to amend an act "providing for the establishment and payment of claims for a certain description of property taken or informally impressed for the use of the Army", approved June 14, 1864. *Dec. 22.*
10. An act [S. 136] to provide funds to meet a deficiency in the appropriation to pay the officers and employees of the War Department.
11. An act [H. R. 243] to regulate the pay and mileage of members, and the compensation of officers of the Senate and House of Representatives. *Dec. 24.*
12. An act [H. R. 214] to define and punish conspiracy against the Confederate States. *Dec. 29.*
13. An act [S. 96] to extend the time within which holders of Treasury notes of the old issue may exchange the same for notes of the new issue.
14. An act [S. 147] to provide for the transfer of certain appropriations. *Jan. 5, 1865.*
15. An act [S. 148] in relation to the accounts to be kept at the Treasury of sequestrated estates.
16. An act [H. R. 300] to provide for the canceling of four per cent bonds and certificates received in payment of taxes and other public dues.
17. An act [H. R. 261][2] to amend an act of the Provisional Congress entitled "An act relating to the prepayment of postage in certain cases", approved July 29, 1861. *Jan. 16.*
18. An act [S. 93] to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the safe custody, printing, publication, and distribution of the laws, and to provide for the appointment of an additional clerk in the Department of Justice", approved August 5, 1861.
19. An act [H. R. 306] to provide commissioned officers of the Army and Navy and Marine Corps with clothing.
20. An act [H. R. 302] to amend an act approved August 21, 1861, entitled "An act to provide for local defense and special service", and an act approved October 13, 1862, entitled "An act to authorize the formation of volunteer companies for local defense". *Jan. 19.*
21. An act [S. 132] to regulate the compensation of postmasters, special agents, and route agents.
22. An act [S. 132] to regulate the supplies of clothing to midshipmen of the Navy.
23. An act [S. 141] to increase the pay of noncommissioned officers, privates, and musicians of the Marine Corps.
24. An act [S. 143] to authorize the employment of instructors for the acting midshipmen of the Navy, and to regulate their pay.
25. An act [S. 145] to authorize the appointment of naval constructors in the Provisional Navy, and to fix their pay.
26. An act [S. 149] to amend an act entitled "An act to provide for the

[2] It became a law by reason of the failure of the President to sign the bill within ten days from presentation on Thursday, January 5.

payment of the interest on the removal and subsistence fund due the Cherokee Indians in North Carolina", approved May 1, 1863. *Jan. 20.*

27. An act [S. 89] to repeal a part of the twenty-sixth section of an act approved February 15, 1862, entitled "An act to alter and amend an act entitled 'An act for the sequestration of the estates, property, and effects of alien enemies, and for indemnity of citizens of the Confederate States and persons aiding the same in the existing war with the United States', approved August thirtieth, eighteen hundred and sixty-one".
28. An act [S. 161] to increase, for a limited period, the salary of the Vice-President.
29. An act [H. R. 310] amendatory of an act entitled "An act to provide for the organization of the Arkansas and Red River Superintendency of Indian Affairs, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians therein, and to preserve peace on the frontiers", approved April 8, 1862.
30. An act [S. 128] to amend an act entitled "An act for the establishment and organization of the Army of the Confederate States of America", approved March 6, 1861. *Jan. 23.*
31. An act [S. 112] to prescribe the pay and allowances of provost marshals and clerks of military courts.
32. An act [S. 131] to regulate the pay of lieutenants in the Navy commanding batteries on shore.
33. An act [S. 165] to amend the act entitled "An act to organize forces to serve during the war", approved February 17, 1864.
34. An act [H. R. 308] to provide more effectually for carrying out certain stipulations in the treaty made with the Cherokee nation of Indians. *Jan. 27.*
35. An act [S. 111] to authorize the President to appoint commissioners for the exchange of prisoners.
36. An act [S. 164] to extend the jurisdiction of the State tax collector of Mississippi over eastern Louisiana.
37. An act [S. 100] to amend the act to provide an invalid corps, approved February 17, 1864.
38. An act [S. 159] to secure more effectually the preservation and distribution of the effects of deceased officers and soldiers. *Feb. 3.*
39. An act [S. 134] to increase the maximum rates of compensation allowed to railroad companies for the transportation of the mails of the Confederate States.
40. An act [S. 153] appropriating, for the use of the Post-Office Department, certain money deposited by the postmasters with the depositaries of the Government created under the act approved February 17, 1864.
41. An act [H. R. 352] to provide for certain claims due the State of Louisiana.
42. An act [H. R. 351] to provide for certain claims due the State of North Carolina.
43. An act [H. R. 242] to provide for sequestrating the property of persons liable to military service who have departed, or shall depart, from the Confederate States without permission.

44. An act [S. 155] to regulate the pay and allowances of certain female employees of the Government. *Feb. 8.*

45. An act [H. R. 361] to provide for the reissue of bonds and certificates of indebtedness of the Confederate States in certain cases. *Feb. 10.*

46. An act [S. 168] to authorize the appointment of a commissary general, with the rank of a brigadier general. *Feb. 11.*

47. An act [H. R. 364] appropriating $10,000 to pay claims in the recruiting service of the Confederate States. *Feb. 14.*

48. An act[3] [S. 150] to provide for the lighting and warming of the Executive Mansion, and for the supply of forage and commissary stores for the use of the Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States. *Feb. 17.*

49. An act [S. 179] to amend an act to provide for holding elections for Representatives in the Congress of the Confederate States from the State of Missouri, approved January 19, 1864. *Feb. 18.*

50. An act [S. 86] fixing the salaries of certain civil officers in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

51. An act [H. R. 304] to increase the efficiency of the cavalry of the Confederate States. *Feb. 23.*

52. An act [H. R. 273] to authorize the consolidation of companies, battalions, and regiments.

53. An act [S. 101] to authorize the exchange of registered bonds issued under the act of February 28, 1861, for coupon bonds of like amounts and times for payment.

54. An act [S. 135] to provide for the remission of the penalty for non-delivery of tithes of bacon due in the year 1864.

55. An act [S. 146] making an appropriation for the removal and erection of the naval ropewalk.

56. An act [S. 151] to provide for the canceling of 4 per cent bonds and certificates received in payment of taxes and other public dues.

57. An act [H. R. 336] to authorize the establishment of an office of deposit in connection with the Treasury.

58. An act [S. 104] to extend the provisions of an act entitled "An act in relation to the receipt of counterfeit Treasury notes by public officers", approved May 1, 1863, and the provisions of the fifth section of the act approved February 17, 1864, entitled "An act to amend the act for the assessment and collection of taxes, approved May first, eighteen hundred and sixty-three".

59. An act [S. 94] to amend the law in relation to the receipt of counterfeit Treasury notes by public officers. *Feb. 25.*

60. An act [S. 84] to regulate, for a limited period, the compensation of the officers, clerks, and employees of the civil departments of the Government in the city of Richmond.

61. An act [H. R. 303] for the further organization of the field artillery of the Confederate States.

[3] It became a law by reason of the failure of the President to sign the bill within ten days from presentation on Monday, February 6.

62. An act [H. R. 373] to provide for the more efficient transportation of troops, supplies, and munitions of war upon the railroads, steamboats, and canals in the Confederate States, and to control telegraph lines employed by the Government. *Feb. 28.*
63. An act [S. 129] to provide for the employment of free negroes and slaves to work upon fortifications and perform other labor connected with the defense of the country.
64. An act [H. R. 375] authorizing proof to be received of the loss or destruction of vouchers necessary in the settlement of accounts.
65. An act [S. 170] to increase the number of acting midshipmen in the Navy, and prescribe the mode of appointment.
66. An act [H. R. 325] to make appropriations for the support of the Government of the Confederate States of America from the first day of January to the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five. *Mar. 1.*
67. An act [H. R. 377] to establish an arsenal and foundry in the valley of Deep River, in the State of North Carolina.
68. An act [H. R. 382] to amend the fourteenth section of an act entitled "An act to reduce the currency and to authorize a new issue of notes and bonds".
69. An act [S. 163] to authorize the appointment of additional officers in the Engineer Corps. *Mar. 2.*
70. An act [H. R. 371] to relieve agriculturists exempted and detailed under the act of February seventeenth, eighteen hundred and sixty-four, in certain cases. *Mar. 3.*
71. An act [H. R. 381] to provide for the redemption of the old issue of Treasury notes held by certain Indian tribes.
72. An act [H. R. 348] to increase the compensation of marshals, criers, jurors, and witnesses.
73. An act [H. R. 383] to require noncommissioned officers and privates, held as prisoners of war, to be paid upon their individual certificates, supported by oath.
74. An act [S. 137] to establish the flag of the Confederate States. *Mar. 4.*
75. An act [S. 197] declaring certain persons liable to duty in the reserve forces of the respective States.
76. An act [S. 106] to modify and amend an act to regulate the destruction of property under military necessity, and to provide for the indemnity thereof, approved March 17, 1862.
77. An act [S. 160] to allow missionaries in the Army rations.
78. An act [S. 195] to authorize the Secretary of War to negotiate with the governors of the several States for slave labor.
79. An act [S. 193] to increase the pay of assistant paymasters in the Provisional Navy.
80. An act [S. 209] to continue in force and extend an act entitled "An act to increase the compensation of the noncommissioned officers and privates of the Army of the Confederate States", approved June 9, 1864.
81. An act [S. 208] to provide for returned prisoners of war.
82. An act [H. R. 319] more effectually to prevent and punish absenteeism and desertion in the Army.

83. An act [S. 117] to authorize the commanders of the reserves in each State to order general courts-martial and to revise the proceedings of courts-martial and military courts.

84. An act [H. R. 388] to authorize the First Auditor to receive and keep the accounts of the Navy Department. *Mar. 6.*

85. An act [H. R. 389] to amend an act to authorize the appointment of assistants to the Register in signing bonds and certificates, approved February 14, 1863.

86. An act [H. R. 399] to authorize the Secretary of War to purchase a percussion-cap pressing machine.

87. An act [S. 187] to regulate the business of conscription. *Mar. 7.*

88. An act [H. R. 266] to amend post route No. 1649, in the State of Georgia. *Mar. 8.*

89. An act [H. R. 398] making an appropriation for the purchase of a percussion-cap pressing machine.

90. An act [H. R. 395] to regulate the compensation of the State Collector of Virginia.

91. An act [H. R. 397] to provide for the payment of the amounts due certain officers and privates who are prisoners of war.

92. An act [S. 191] to abolish the office of all officers engaged in discharging the duties of provost marshals, except within the lines of an army in the field.

93. An act [S. 180] to amend an act entitled "An act to prevent the procuring, aiding and assisting persons to desert from the Army of the Confederate States, and for other purposes", approved January 22, 1864.

94. An act [H. R. 320] to change the mode of filling vacancies among commissioned officers of companies, battalions, and regiments. *Mar. 9.*

95. An act [H. R. 288] authorizing the promotion of officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates for distinguished valor and skill, or for peculiar competency and general merit.

96. An act [H. R. 393] to provide for paying, in cotton, the annuities due the Seminole, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw nations of Indians.

97. An act [H. R. 347] to authorize and regulate the allowances of naval storekeepers.

98. An act [H. R. 294] to secure to sick and wounded officers the same rights and privileges in obtaining leaves of absence as are now provided by law for soldiers obtaining furloughs.

99. An act [H. R. 295] authorizing hospital accommodations for treatment, including subsistence, to certain officers and soldiers resigned, retired, or discharged.

100. An act [H. R. 244] to provide for the settlement of certain matters of account growing out of purchases of property, as alleged by the purchasers, for the use of the Government, by Payne & Co., in the State of Texas.

101. An act [H. R. 404] further to amend the act to provide an invalid corps, approved February 17, 1864.

102. An act [H. R. 408] regulating the compensation of Government officers, clerks, and employees in the city of Petersburg.

103. An act [H. R. 407] to construe and declare more explicitly the meaning

of an act to increase the compensation of the heads of the several Executive Departments and the Assistant Secretary of War and the Treasury and of the Assistant Attorney-General and the Comptroller of the Treasury and other officers therein named, approved June 14, 1864.

104. An act [H. R. 410] making an appropriation for the construction and repair of railroads for military purposes for the year 1865.
105. An act [S. 220] to increase the salary of the assistant treasurer at Charleston, S. C.
106. An act [H. R. 379] to levy additional taxes for the year 1865 for the support of the Government. *Mar. 11.*
107. An act [H. R. 343] providing for the auditing and payment of properly authenticated claims against the Cotton Bureau in the Trans-Mississippi Department.
108. An act [H. R. 258] to amend the act of February 7, 1863, so as to allow commutation to soldiers for the war who have received no furlough.
109. An act [H. R. 342] providing for the auditing and payment of certain properly authenticated claims.
110. An act [S. 219] to regulate the payment of clerks employed at the post offices in the cities of Richmond and Petersburg.
111. An act [S. 166] to amend an act entitled "An act to provide and organize a general staff for armies in the field, to serve during the war", approved June 14, 1864.
112. An act [H. R. 415] making an appropriation to supply a deficiency in the War Department during the fiscal period ending December 31, 1864.
113. An act [S. 221] for the relief of maimed soldiers.
114. An act [H. R. 406] to amend the acts to regulate the assessment and collection of taxes in kind. *Mar. 13.*
115. An act [H. R. 394] to authorize the President to appoint a commissioner to take proof as to expenditures made by the State of Tennessee for the benefit of the Confederacy previous to the transfer of her troops to the Confederate Government.
116. An act [H. R. 402] to make rules concerning captures on land.
117. An act [H. R. 367] to increase the military force of the Confederate States.
118. An act [H. R. 387] to amend an act entitled "An act to establish and organize two bureaus in connection with the agency of the Treasury", etc., approved February 17, 1864, and to provide for the more efficient organization of the agency of the Treasury for the Trans-Mississippi Department.
119. An act [H. R. 401] to amend and extend the provisions of an act entitled "An act fixing the salaries of certain civil officers in the Trans-Mississippi Department", approved February 18, 1865.
120. An act [H. R. 307] authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow specie, to be applied to the redemption and reduction of the currency.
121. An act [H. R. 385] making additional appropriations for the support of the Government of the Confederate States of America from January 1, to June 30, 1865.
122. An act [H. R. 416] to increase the compensation of tax collectors and assessors in the cities of Richmond and Petersburg.

123. An act [H. R. 390] for the relief of tax payers in certain cases.
124. An act [H. R. 384] for the relief of bonded agriculturists in certain cases.
125. An act [H. R. 405] to establish certain post routes therein named.
126. An act [S. 217] in relation to printing and binding, in pamphlet form, the acts, resolutions, and treaties adopted at each session of Congress.
127. An act [S. 199] to change the time for the assembling of Congress for its next regular session.
128. An act [S. 216] to appropriate money to pay the Missouri State Guard.
129. An act [S. 222] supplemental to an act approved on the 4th day of March, 1865, entitled "An act to authorize the commanders of the reserves in each State to order general courts-martial and to revise the proceedings of courts-martial and military courts".
130. An act [H. R. 423] to prevent improper communication of intelligence to the enemy.
131. An act [H. R. 324] to authorize the appointment of certain tax officers for the Trans-Mississippi Department.
132. An act [H. R. 424] for furnishing bagging and rope for the packing of tithe cotton.
133. An act [H. R. 425] to authorize the settlement of the claim of the State of North Carolina for expenses incurred in executing the acts of Congress to further provide for the public defense, and to organize forces to serve during the war.

134. An act [H. R. 413] to amend the sequestration laws. *Mar. 14.*
135. An act [H. R. 414] making an additional appropriation for the redemption of a temporary loan, made in the year 1861, of sundry banks in the Confederate States, to supply funds to the Treasury.
136. An act [S. 224] to limit the issue of forage.
137. An act [S. 172] to extend an act entitled "An act to graduate the pay of general officers", approved June 10, 1864.
138. An act [S. 205] to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to issue seven per cent bonds to certain persons in North Carolina.
139. An act [H. R. 428] to authorize the Postmaster-General to purchase United States postage stamps for certain purposes.

140. An act [H. R. 350] to diminish the number of exemptions and details. *Mar. 16.*
141. An act [H. R. 429] making appropriations for the support of the Government of the Confederate States of America from July 1, to December 31, 1865, and to supply deficiencies.
142. An act [H. R. 418] relative to the impressment of slaves.
143. An act [H. R. 435] to establish a certain post route therein named.

144. An act [H. R. 419] to amend an act providing for the establishment and payment of claims for a certain description of property taken or informally impressed for the use of the Army, approved June 14, 1864. *Mar. 17.*
145. An act [H. R. 341] requiring suit to be brought against persons connected with the Cotton Bureau and Cotton Office in the Trans-Mississippi Department.
146. An act [H. R. 434] to amend an act entitled "An act to diminish the number of exemptions and details".

147. An act [S. 215] to appropriate money to pay the expenses of the joint Select Committee on the Subject of the Treatment and Exchange of Prisoners.
148. An act [H. R. 437] to grant transportation to discharged and disabled soldiers.
149. An act [H. R. 431] for the relief of the officers and employees of the Treasury Note Bureau. *Mar. 18.*
150. An act [H. R. 412] to authorize the President of the Confederate States to organize, in the city of Richmond and county of Henrico, a volunteer force for temporary service.
151. An act [S. 204] to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to receive specie from the several States of the Confederacy and use the same for the benefit of said States.
152. An act [S. 227] to amend the act to regulate the business of conscription, approved March 7, 1865.
153. An act [H. R. 440] to increase the pay and mileage of officers traveling under orders.
154. An act [S. 181] to amend the law in relation to impressments.
155. An act [S. 228] to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate impressments", approved March 26, 1863, as amended by the act approved February 16, 1864.
156. An act [H. R. 442] supplemental to an act entitled "An act to diminish the number of exemptions and details".
157. An act [S. 225] to amend the tenth section of the act entitled "An act to organize forces to serve during the war".

II. Public Acts passed in Secret Session: Statute II, 1864–1865

Chapter Title

1. An act [H. R. 284] to issue a further foreign loan. *Jan. 4, 1865.*
2. An act [S. 157] to provide for the appointment of a general in chief of the armies of the Confederate States. *Jan. 23.*
3. An act [H. R. 357] making an appropriation for the redemption of one-fortieth of the three million pounds foreign loan, due March 1, 1864. *Feb. 3.*
4. An act [S. 102] to authorize the exportation of produce and merchandise bought from the Government. *Feb. 18.*
5. An act [H. R. 417] to increase, for a limited period, the compensation and mileage of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress, and the compensation of the officers of both Houses in Congress. *Mar. 9.*
6. An act [S. 218] to authorize the removal of the Naval School.
7. An act [H. R. 426] to provide for the safety of the archives of the Government, and for assembling of Congress at any place other than the seat of government. *Mar. 14.*
8. An act [H. R. 438] to raise coin for the purpose of furnishing necessary supplies for the Army. *Mar. 17.*

III. Public Resolutions passed in Open Session

Number Title

1. Joint resolution [H. R. 19] of thanks to Gen. N. B. Forrest and the officers and men of his command. *Dec. 6, 1864.*
2. Joint resolution [S. 21] of thanks to Brig. Gen. Stand Watie, Colonel Gano, and the officers and men under their command. *Jan. 23, 1865.*
3. Joint resolution [S. 24] directing the transfer of certain funds from the Navy Department to the Treasury. *Jan. 27.*
4. Joint resolution [H. R. 21] of thanks to Brig. Gen. John S. Williams and the officers and men under his command for their victory over the enemy at Saltville, Va., on the 2d day of October, 1864. *Feb. 3.*
5. Joint resolution [H. R. 20] construing the act of January 30, 1864, increasing the compensation of certain officers and employees of the Government.
6. Joint resolution [H. R. 24] of thanks to the officers and men of the Ninth, Fourteenth, and Fifty-seventh Regiments of Virginia Infantry. *Feb. 8.*
7. Joint resolution [S. 27] of thanks to Capt. Raphael Semmes, of the Confederate States war steamer Alabama, and the officers and crew under his command. *Feb. 11.*
8. Joint resolution [S. 26] of thanks to Mr. John Lancaster, of England, for his friendly conduct toward the commander, officers, and crew of the Alabama. *Feb. 14.*
9. Joint resolution [S. 28] of thanks to the officers and soldiers of Gen. Bushrod Johnson's old brigade of Tennessee troops and the brigade of the late General Archer, composed of Tennessee and Maryland troops, now in the Army of Northern Virginia. *Feb. 18.*
10. Joint resolution [S. 20] relating to the manufacture of railroad iron and to new lines of railroad.
11. Joint resolution [S. 29] extending the provisions of the joint resolution to allow sick and wounded officers of the Army transportation to their homes, and hospital accommodations, approved June 10, 1864.
12. Joint resolution [H. R. 28] authorizing the transfer of funds in the Quartermaster General's Department. *Feb. 23.*
13. Joint resolution [S. 22] exempting maple sugar from the tithe imposed by the act entitled "An act to amend an act entitled 'An act to lay taxes for the common defense and carry on the Government of the Confederate States,' approved April, twenty-fourth, eighteen hundred and sixty three", approved February 17, 1864. *Feb. 24.*
14. Joint resolution [S. 32] construing the act of May 31, 1864, to provide for the appointment of a disbursing clerk in the War Department. *Mar. 4.*
15. Joint resolution [H. R. 33] for the relief of postmasters in certain cases. *Mar. 11.*
16. Joint resolution [H. R. 22] in regard to the Cotton Bureau and cotton transactions in the Trans-Mississippi Department.

17. Joint resolution [S. 35] providing for donations to the Treasury of the Confederate States. *Mar. 13.*
18. Joint resolution [S. 37] of thanks to Lieut. Gen. Wade Hampton.
19. Joint resolution [H. R. 30] expressing the sense of Congress on the subject of the late peace commission. *Mar. 14.*
20. Joint resolution [H. R. 31] respecting a census.

IV. Public Resolutions passed in Secret Session

Number — Title

1. Joint resolution [S. 25] to amend a joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution on the subject of retaliation", approved May 1, 1863. *Feb. 8, 1865.*

V. Private Acts passed in Open Session: Statute II, 1864–1865

Chapter — Title

1. An act [S. 63] for the relief of Mrs. Margaret A. Rice. *Nov. 22, 1864.*
2. An act [H. R. 268] for the relief of Sarah A. Heiskell, wife of the Hon. Joseph B. Heiskell, a Representative from the State of Tennessee. *Dec. 19.*
3. An act [H. R. 368] for the relief of James Sykes, agent of James W. Sykes. *Feb. 25, 1865.*
4. An act [S. 223] for the relief of the Exchange Bank of Virginia. *Mar. 13.*
5. An act [H. R. 421] for the relief of the Exchange Bank of Virginia, at Norfolk. *Mar. 16.*

VI. Private Resolutions passed in Open Session

Number — Title

1. Joint resolution [H. R. 23] for the relief of the Virginia Mechanics' Institute. *Feb. 8, 1865.*
2. Joint resolution [H. R. 26] for the relief of James D. Brown. *Feb. 23.*
3. Joint resolution [H. R. 27] for the relief of the legal representatives of John R. Cardwell. *Feb. 28.*
4. Joint resolution [H. R. 34] for the relief of Alexander F. Kinney, Confederate States depositary at Staunton, Va. *Mar. 11.*
5. Joint resolution [H. R. 35] for the relief of Stephen B. Marshall, jr., tax collector of Putnam County, Ga. *Mar. 16.*
6. Joint resolution [H. R. 36] for the relief of William C. Hagan.

VII. Private Resolutions passed in Secret Session

Number — Title

1. Joint resolution [H. R. 29] in relation to the services of Manuel and Rafael Armijo and Julian Tesorio. *Mar. 9, 1865.*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF GENERAL, ANCIENT, AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A History of Europe. By H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford. Volume I, *Ancient and Mediaeval.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1935. Pp. xii, 449. $4.00.)

The first of a three volume history of Europe by the Warden of New College traverses the ground from the emergence of Hellas to the fall of Constantinople. Not a compendium, since a knowledge of the facts is taken for granted, nor a survey, for such a label is inappropriate for work so penetrating, it may be described as an interpretative essay attempting to explain why things happened as they did during a span of more than two thousand years. For Mr. Fisher there is no tide in human affairs. "Men wiser and more learned than I have discerned in history a plot, a rhythm, a predestined pattern. These harmonies are concealed from me." The play of the contingent and the unforeseen bulks too large to permit the formulation of any law regarding human social development. The author contents himself in saying that "the fact of progress is written plain and large on the page of history; but progress is not a law of nature". Yet, one may well ask, is "the pleasure of recalling to memory" the sole answer of the riddle that has tormented the ablest historians of our generation?

The task of synthesis upon so sweeping a scale has been so abused in recent years that few of the historical profession have dared embark upon it. However, even specialists, whose undoubted right it is to cavil over undertones and overtones, should rejoice that one so well qualified has assumed the responsibility. That this work contains its share of little nagging errors cannot be denied. However, because of its wholesome regard for modern scholarship and because of its writing—devoid of literary tricks and devices, always lucid, oftentimes exquisite—this history promises to attain the rank of distinguished historical writing.

A scant third of the book deals with the heritage of Greece and Rome. The vast accretion of culture that rolled in upon Hellas was challenged by the Greek mind and survival was conditioned upon the test that man was essentially "proud and free, on happy terms with himself, with the world and with Olympus". Indeed one of the last achievements of the Greek world was to impress its spirit upon Christianity, soon to become the *sine qua non* of European membership. To Hellenic civilization European man is indebted for the liberation of thought and the refinement of taste. Rome, drawn "half reluctantly and of no set plan" into empire, failed to provide "the flexibility that human institutions must possess" in order to endure.

In her greatest strength were laid the seeds of her greatest weakness. The Germans are praised because they had the secret of political liberty which Rome had forgotten, the passion for individual initiative which Rome had suppressed, and, perhaps of paramount importance, the habit of rearing large families, which Rome had chosen to neglect and despise.

The destruction of the Goths in the sixth century was a profound error, and of Justinian the author writes, "few men whose personality is so uncertain fill a greater place in history". The effective unity of the Christian Church broke "on the rock of vocabulary and syntax". The Eastern Church never challenged secular power; consequently no great liberating movement is traceable to its agency. Yet it is a mistake for the classical scholar to smile at the Byzantines for they were the channel through which the rudiments of culture and Christianity were communicated to the Balkans and elsewhere. Mr. Fisher discerns no set purpose save plunder in the outpouring of the Arabs, and for the Norsemen the same judgment is reserved.

The early Christians had no philosophy of the state or belief in the regeneration of society through institutions. "They were neither socialists, communists, nor individualists." The superstitious side of Christianity was so developed during the seventh century that it was open to the contemporary critic to observe that the cult of a single God had been left to the Moslem and the Jew. In passing, Mr. Fisher remarks that "the possible loss to society through the enforced celibacy of many of the best men in every generation was never a matter of comment in an age which regarded celibacy as the first and hardest of human virtues". The Church for long was able to silence the voice of the isolated rebel; "by devout and laborious gymnastic" it succeeded in converting the works of Aristotle into "an exact and authoritative confirmation of the Catholic faith"; and in the thirteenth century, thanks to the lusty blows of an Albertus Magnus and a Thomas Aquinas, it weathered an intellectual crisis at a time when many of the antecedents of the Reformation were visible. If the Hundred Years' War had not supervened, the forces making for freedom would have captured new frontiers in line of their advance.

While Dante was writing that the highest activity of man is intellectual, that intellectual progress is arrested by war, that universal peace is the supreme end of politics, to be made secure only by the reduction of the whole world under a single government, the near future held in store the Hundred Years' War, chaos in Spain, fratricidal wars in Italy, unbelievable bloodlettings in Russia, and the fall of Constantinople. Such were the labors of a new world. And while even contemporaries were to recognize in the crumbling of the walls of Constantinople the end of an epoch, the official biographer of Henry the Navigator was preoccupied in making certain that his fame "should not rest upon activities so novel and inglorious as the organization of maritime trade and discovery".

Princeton University. J. E. Pomfret.

Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B. C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt. Edited with Introductions and Notes by WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN, Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University, and ELIZABETH SAYRE HASENOEHRL. Volume I. [Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, III.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1934. Pp. x, 177. $6.00.)

In this volume fifty-eight papyri from the archives of Zenon, a responsible agent of Apollonius, finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, are presented, all except nine of which are hitherto unpublished. These last have been included so that the entire Columbia group of Zenon documents may be available in this and a projected second volume. The papyri cover the period 259-248 B. C.

The first two documents supplement our somewhat scanty knowledge of Apollonius's business interests in Syria and Palestine and of commercial relations between these lands and Egypt. We hear for the first time of the export of reed mats and pickled meat from Egypt, and get further evidence of the purchase of slaves in Palestine for Apollonius. In the latter connection we gain further proof of the existence of a sales tax on slaves, an impost already carefully considered by Westermann in his book *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Columbia University Press, 1929).

The remaining documents relate to the management of Apollonius's affairs, including his large estates, in Egypt. They lend further color to the picture of the economic life of the time so vividly painted by Rostovtzeff in his book *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1922) and by Edgar in his publications of Zenon papyri. Among the documents are found accounts of receipts and expenditures, letters of recommendation and complaint to Zenon, and requests for his intervention with Apollonius in behalf of the writer. Reports of commercial and financial transactions and projects, in which Zenon's opinion is frequently consulted, and letters of instruction from Apollonius are also included.

Many of these documents merit special mention as contributing new and valuable information. Thus one of the accounts, No. 4, has to do with the distribution of papyrus rolls to the various clerical bureaus employed by Apollonius in his official capacity, and is important as going far to show that papyrus was surprisingly cheap, contrary to the conclusion of Glotz. A letter, No. 11, from three citizens of Caunus, Zenon's birthplace, requesting Zenon to secure for them an audience with Apollonius to discuss matters of concern to their city strengthens the view already held that Apollonius "wielded an almost independent authority over the Carian dependencies of Egypt". A letter, No. 42, from Apollonius to Zenon instructing him to render account to a banker Python and to Phileas, presumably the principal state accountant of the Arsinoite nome, of the collections from the beer

concession and all the remaining collections in Philadelphia suggests that Zenon's activities in finance and administration had an even wider scope than has hitherto been recognized. This letter illustrates a time-honored financial practice, for it appears that Apollonius in his capacity of proprietor of an estate at Philadelphia has advanced money to himself as finance minister of Ptolemy. In a receipt, No. 49, for an advance payment in kind upon rent we hear for the first time of a twenty-one *aroura* allotment of land to a military settler, and a new name, Demetrius, is added to the list of eponymous troop commanders already known. We learn in another receipt, No. 55, of 250 B. C., that wine from the *apomoira,* nominally payable to the deified Arsinoe, has been assigned to the guards of the *nomarchos* in payment of their regular money wages, thereby offering "the first definite proof known to us that the income of the *apomoira* was used for other purposes than the charges of the cult worship".

These few citations may suffice to give an indication of the interest and value of this excellent new publication of Zenon papyri.

Williams College. GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER, JR.

By Light, Light: the Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism. By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH, Professor of the History of Religion, Fellow of Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1935. Pp. xv, 436. $5.00.)

IT has been increasingly recognized, during the last half century, that Philo of Alexandria is of crucial importance for the understanding of religious thought in the West. His voluminous writings, owing to their complete lack of logical arrangement and literary form, have never been widely read, either in ancient or modern times; but in his own right Philo is one of the world's great thinkers, and when measured by his influence may fairly rank as one of the three or four greatest. In the present volume Professor Goodenough has given us perhaps the most illuminating of all modern studies of Philo. His theory is a wholly original one, but is the outcome of prolonged study and genuine philosophical insight. He holds that Philo was the spokesman of an esoteric Jewish group, corresponding to the mystery societies in the contemporary pagan world. Within this sect the Jewish ritual was formally accepted, but was understood as the outward expression of a mystical, transcendental faith. God became the ultimate Being, which diffuses itself by a process of radiation through the Logos and the Powers in which the Logos is refracted. The primitive Biblical history became symbolical of this process. To the uninstructed the characters appear to be real men and women, but the initiate thinks of them abstractly as representing the stages by which the Light is imparted, and by which the mind can ascend to the Light, through the illusions of the visible world. Per-

haps the most striking part of Dr. Goodenough's exposition is his treatment of the place assigned to Moses in the Philonic scheme. He makes out that Moses is regarded as in some sense an incarnation of the principle of the Logos, so that in the Mosaic law the opportunity is offered to men of attaining to fellowship with the divine. Dr. Goodenough's thesis, when indicated thus baldly, may seem to be little more than another of the bizarre speculations which are the bane of modern historical inquiry. At every point, however, it is grounded in full investigation, and is supported by a force of reasoning and a wealth of learning which will impress all serious students. The reader continually feels that much that was perplexing to him in the thought and purpose of Philo has now been made intelligible for the first time. It even becomes apparent that the Commentaries are not the hopeless jumble for which we are wont to take them, but are constructed on a definite plan. Where we would chiefly take issue with the author is in his conception of Philo as the representative of a secret cult within Judaism. Undoubtedly there were many schools of Jewish thought in the first century, some of them much more in sympathy with Greek philosophy than with Rabbinism. This diversity in Judaism, especially the Judaism of the Dispersion, is an obscure subject, on which we are still groping for light. But there is nothing in Philo, as Dr. Goodenough himself expounds him, that suggests a mystery cult. He only pushes to its limit the prevailing effort to interpret the Jewish law in terms of the metaphysical ideas then current in the Hellenistic world. The value of the book, however, is in no way affected by any doubts we may have as to the soundness of one peculiar view. Whatever may have been Philo's position as a teacher we can feel that the doctrines which he taught are here presented, in clear and forcible language and with real understanding. It is to be hoped that Dr. Goodenough will follow out his project of continuing his present work with an inquiry into the whole development of Christian Hellenism. No task in the field of historical religion is more urgent, and there is ample proof in this volume that no one, either in this country or abroad, is better qualified than the author to perform it.

Union Theological Seminary. E. F. Scott.

BOOKS OF MODERN HISTORY

Inventaire des Affaitadi, banquiers italiens à Anvers de l'année 1568. Par J. Denucé, archiviste et conservateur des Musées d'Archéologie de la ville d'Anvers. [Collection de documents pour l'histoire du commerce, I.] (Antwerp: Éditions de "Sikkel". 1934. Pp. 260. 15 belgas.)

The Affaitadi were sedentary merchants of some distinction. We have

known the type through the Bardi, Peruzzi, Medici, and Fuggers. Beginning in a humble way, such merchants rose to positions of importance in trade, both local and international. The type performed many economic functions such as importation, exportation, wholesaling, retailing, transportation, storage, acting as commission agents for other merchants, dominating certain mining and industrial activities, and, finally, reaching their commercial peak as private bankers. In the last-named capacity, they lent money to princes and potentates, receiving concessions at home and abroad.

The Affaitadi grew up in Cremona but some members of the family went to Lisbon when Portugal was at its commercial height. In Lisbon they were concerned with the spice and sugar trades. Indeed from at least 1500 onward they played an important part in the importation and refining of sugar. Although they had offices at Cremona, Rome, Seville, Medina del Campo, Valladolid, and Lisbon, it was at Antwerp that the family reached its height under Giovanni Carlo Affaitadi, and it is this Giovanni Carlo who occupies the central place in the present book.

Giovanni Carlo, born at Cremona in 1500, and having learned the business of his house in Cremona, Venice, and Lisbon, made Antwerp his chief center about 1530. How rich and full the years spent at Antwerp were—until his death in 1555! Always a merchant, he was one of the world's great bankers. Antwerp was growing as he grew. Just as Jacob Fugger helped the Emperor Charles V to secure his election, so did Affaitadi give him later financial assistance in his wars. Like Fugger, he sought to cement his gains by investment in real estate. Indeed he became the Baron of Ghistelles and the hereditary chamberlain of Flanders. His two daughters married very well and his three sons, noble and rich, did not engage in trade or banking. Although the family had reached its height in Giovanni Carlo at Antwerp, as has been said, it is most often remembered for the beautiful palace completed by Giovanni's oldest son at Cremona.

Fortunately, Giovanni Carlo had an able brother Giovanni Battista Affaitadi, to whom his affairs were to be entrusted after his death. It was only in 1568 that Giovanni Carlo's property could be fully inventoried and a satisfactory statement made to the children. The total assets were 130,162 florins, from which deductions of 64,304 had to be made, leaving 65,858 florins as the net fortune. The wise Giovanni Battista had already invested heavily in real estate near Antwerp, thereby giving the family a certain stability in Flanders, which with purely personal property they would never have attained. For the purpose of the book now under review, however, the chief matter of importance is the inventory of 1568 that Giovanni Battista caused to be prepared.

This inventory, to be compared with that of the Fuggers edited by Professor Strieder, listed not simply the physical assets but also the whole property of the estate. For a study of an international commercial and banking

house, the inventory and supporting documents have great value. They show the relation of the various branches to one another, the debts of persons high and low, and the tendency to invest in real estate. The records come from private and public archives in Antwerp. We may hope for and expect more use of such documents in the future.

The editor has provided a useful general introduction, transcribed the documents, and identified in footnotes many of the persons whose names appear in the documents. It would be helpful to all interested in commercial history, if the editor, or someone else, would analyze, and reproduce examples of the detailed account books of the Affaitadi.

Harvard University. N. S. B. Gras.

Écrits notables sur la monnaie: XVI^e siècle, de Copernic à Davanzati. Reproduits, traduits, avec une introduction, des notices, et des notes par Jean Yves Le Branchu, docteur en droit. Avant-propos de François Simiand, professeur au Collège de France. Deux tomes. [Collection des principaux économistes, Nouvelle édition.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1934. Pp. civ, 177; 241. 35 fr. each.)

Historians and economists will doubtless welcome the new and revised edition of Daire's *Collection des principaux économistes*, of which *Écrits notables sur la monnaie* form two of the earliest volumes. To throw light upon current problems and to render accessible certain studies that historians of economic thought have unearthed in recent years, Professors Simiand and Pirou, the able editors of the revised edition, have extended the series back into the sixteenth century.

In an illuminating introduction (pp. xxiii-civ) and scholarly notes M. Le Branchu describes the economic conditions that gave rise to each treatise, analyzes its contributions, and discusses its influence upon theory and practice. In every case the particular manuscript or printed edition reproduced has been selected with great care and the variants in other important editions noted. Not the least valuable service of M. Le Branchu is his penetrating re-examination of Miss Lamond's generally accepted ascription of the authorship of *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* to John Hales. In the opinion of the reviewer, M. Le Branchu makes a somewhat better case for Thomas Smith than did Miss Lamond for Hales.

From Copernicus to Davanzati the authors of the *Écrits notables* agree in denouncing debasement and admonishing princes to maintain the integrity of the coinage. Jean Bodin was not only the first of these writers to recognize the role of the fertile American silver mines in the Price Revolution, but the only one who assigned them proper importance. The other authors concentrated their attention upon such factors as monetary debasement, a really important cause of the upswing of prices in several countries,

and upon such trivial forces as forestalling, regrating, monopoly, usury, and vagrancy. Even Bodin mistakenly sought ancillary causes of the Price Revolution.

The usefulness of *Écrits notables* is materially impaired by the devotion of roughly five sevenths of the first volume to Bodin's *Réponse,* available in the excellent edition of Professor Hauser, and five sixths of the second volume to the *Discourse of the Common Weal,* accessible in Miss Lamond's edition. Unfamiliarity with recent studies of sixteenth century prices[1] led M. Le Branchu and Professor Simiand (in his foreword) to place the beginning of the Price Revolution too late. Probably few historians of economic thought will concur in M. Le Branchu's and Professor Simiand's disparagement of the quantity theory of money expounded by Bodin because of the lack of certain elements present in most of the conflicting twentieth century versions. Their efforts to show that Copernicus and Gresham clearly formulated Gresham's law contrast strangely with this attitude toward Bodin. The theory that prices vary directly with the quantity of money is certainly as close to the quantity theory of Keynes or Hawtrey as is the simple declaration that bad money drives good money out of circulation (which is all that can be claimed for Gresham or any other writer in *Écrits notables*) to the precise formulation of Gresham's law by Alfred Marshall and his followers. Surely one who sees an anticipation of Say's law of markets in the doctrine that money consists of counters used in exchange (p. xcii) calls heavily upon his imagination.

[1] See, for example, Stanislaw Hoszowski, *Ceny we Lwowie w XVI i XVII Wieku* (Lwów, 1928). A résumé and the statistical tables are given in French.

Duke University. EARL J. HAMILTON.

Studies in Administration and Finance, 1558–1825, with Special Reference to the History of Salt Taxation in England. By EDWARD HUGHES, Lecturer in Modern History in the University of Manchester. [Publications of the University of Manchester.] (Manchester: University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 528. 21*s.*)

THIS volume deals with the revenues which, from 1564 to 1825, the English crown derived from salt produced in Great Britain. Elizabeth's advisers first intended to introduce a genuine gabelle, combining production by a royal patentee with a royal monopoly of sale. After 1641 the patent system was set aside in favor of the excise. Abandoned during the Restoration, the salt excise was revived in 1694 as a duty of one shilling per bushel on salt made in England. The rate was steadily pushed upward. In 1805 Pitt raised the levy to fifteen shillings per bushel, the equivalent of an ad valorem duty of 1500 per cent. The tax was rendered bearable by a system of allowances, such as rebates of the duty on exported salt, compensatory bounties on exported fish, and deductions for wastage in transportation;

which reduced the yield of the tax in 1730 from £470,000 gross to £186,000 net. The duties on the salt used in curing a "hundred of cod" amounted to £1 6*s*. 8*d*. and the allowance on the fish thus cured, £2 10*s*. As the salt tax grew heavier it was attacked by the rising industrial interests, by the agriculturalists, dairy farmers, and butter makers, and by the philanthropists, led by Sir Thomas Bernard, who saw in the salt tax an unwarranted burden on the poor. The tax was repealed in 1825.

Hughes is interested in describing the place of the salt tax in the revenue system and in showing the interference of interests which resulted in the various schedules of rates and allowances which were actually adopted. Other scholars have stressed the constitutional aspects of fiscal history; Hughes develops the administration of a single revenue. He draws upon an amazing variety of sources and introduces a wealth of information on subsidiary matters, such as eighteenth century education, the beginning of the English canals, changing theories of taxation, and accounts of the careers of numerous individuals.

Some of Hughes's conclusions are fundamental enough to compel, if substantiated, significant historical corrections. On the ground that the Salt Office was ably staffed and efficiently conducted, Hughes suggests a revision of the views commonly held regarding the quality of eighteenth century administration. Walpole is stripped of every quality of insight, courage, and judgment in his role of public financier. Yet since Hughes's evidence relates only to Walpole's handling of the salt tax in 1730-1732 there is still something to be said for the great minister. Hughes's implications, too, are occasionally open to question, as when he suggests that the bankruptcy of Charles I is evident from his acceptance of the stipulations of the salt patent of 1635.

An excess of detail lends the book a certain heaviness of style, which is curiously reminiscent of Professor Unwin, Hughes's master. Apart from this, the work is a model of the sort of thing which should be done for separate revenues and departments in order to create a well-rounded picture of British public finance before the nineteenth century.

The index, with the frequent recurrence of entries followed by thirty or forty unanalyzed page references, leaves something to be desired.

The University of Illinois. FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

At the Court of Queen Elizabeth: the Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer. By RALPH M. SARGENT. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1935. Pp. xiii, 229. $3.00.)

SIR Edward Dyer is chiefly known as the friend of Sir Philip Sidney and the earliest of the Elizabethan court poets. All that survives of his poetry which can with any certainty be ascribed to him is printed in an appendix to this book and fills just twenty-five pages. Of his life besides Dr. Sargent

has gathered up such fragments as remain. The gathering has been diligent, but the placing of the man against his background reveals too often a disposition to exaggerate the importance of the role he played and also, it is to be feared, an inadequate knowledge of the stage setting. This is notably true in connection with Dyer's official career which was confined in the main to one or perhaps two rather insignificant missions to the Low Countries. Dr. Sargent seems to have grasped very imperfectly the situation in the Low Countries and indeed the whole complex of Anglo-Spanish relations under Elizabeth. He should have recalled the exploits of Hawkins and Drake, to say nothing of the affair of the pay-ships in 1569 and the open countenance of the Dutch rebels during the late 70's and the early 80's before he wrote "for the whole twenty-six years of her reign the very keystone of Elizabeth's foreign policy had been to stave off hostilities with Spain" (p. 81). He should have realized that the Dutch leaders would have preferred a French alliance, if they could have got it, before an English one (pp. 80, 85). He is stretching the bow very far when he calls the Anglo-Dutch alliance Dyer's work (p. 82), and he is hardly fair in blaming all the haggling between Dutch and English in 1585 upon Elizabeth (p. 85), as all readers of Motley will know. His assumption that Dyer's visit to the Low Countries in June, 1588, was on public business is not supported by the evidence he presents (p. 95). Finally, his statement that the Dutch established their republic in the summer of 1588 while Parma's attention was diverted by the Spanish Armada (p. 96) is, as it stands, nonsense. All told, the Dutch put in some eighty years on that job.

Those who love Philip Sidney will resent Dr. Sargent's comparison of his death with that of Lord Byron (p. 89) and his digging out of John Aubrey's old scandal about the relations between Philip and his sister (p. 69), which is absolutely without sound foundation and ought to be consigned to the oblivion it deserves.

These points are raised not in any carping spirit but simply to illustrate that Dr. Sargent has not studied his period carefully enough to venture generalizations about it. He has done a good deal of useful work in clearing up some doubtful facts about Dyer and in bringing together a number of other facts which, though already in print, are rather scattered. His work in the manuscript collections, which included the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and Hatfield House, yielded disappointingly little, rather less, indeed, than he intimates since at least two documents which he quotes from the Bodleian Library are already in print (pp. 50, 92–93).

The book should certainly be used with caution and should not be accepted as authoritative except for the bare, ungarnished facts of Dyer's life. So taken, it will be serviceable though disappointing. It leaves Dyer where it found him with no new claim to consideration unless it be that of having

been completely hoodwinked by that sixteenth century arch-charlatan, Sir Edward Kelley.

The University of Pennsylvania. CONYERS READ.

De jure naturae et gentium libri octo, by Samuel Pufendorf. Volume I, *Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1688,* with an Introduction by WALTER SIMONS. Volume II, *Translation,* by C. H. OLDFATHER and W. A. OLDFATHER.

Jus gentium methodo scientifica pertractatum, by Christian Wolff. Volume I, *Photographic Reproduction of the Edition of 1764,* with an Introduction by DR. OTFRIED NIPPOLD. Volume II, *Translation,* by JOSEPH H. DRAKE. [The Classics of International Law, edited by James Brown Scott for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. 66a, 1002; 64a, xiii, 1465; lvi, 411; lii, 565. $10.00 each set.)

SAMUEL Pufendorf lived at a time and in an area which still felt the consequences of the Thirty Years' War, and was strongly influenced by the current doctrine of natural law and by the work of Grotius. He prepared a book on general jurisprudence, published in 1660, which led to his appointment in 1661 at Heidelberg University to what has been called the first chair of public international law. He was called to the University of Lund, Sweden, in 1670 and published in 1672 *De jure naturae et gentium libri octo.* Under the assumed name of Severinus de Monzambano he had already published another work, *De statu Imperii Germanici,* which, pointing out the defects of the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, is somewhat similar to some of the recent treatises upon the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. His fame, however, is more especially based on the *De jure naturae et gentium.* He wrote upon other aspects of law and on history, and as was usual for authors of his day also upon theology. In some respects the work of Pufendorf shows characteristics of the Spanish school and of Bodin who had written a hundred years before. The introduction by Judge Walter Simons is scholarly and the translation by Professors C. H. and W. A. Oldfather is clear.

Christian Wolff, 1679–1754, like many writers of that period, acquired a knowledge of theology in his early education. He even hoped to reduce theology to categories of mathematical certainty. Like other leaders of thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Wolff considered a broad basis essential to a sound education. His preference for mathematical clarity caused him to wish to restate some of the loose conclusions of Pufendorf. Naturally Wolff's accurate thinking and fearless expression of his thought made him the center of controversy and a school of opponents was faced by a school of his supporters. His *Jus gentium methodo scientifica pertractatum* proposed to treat the law of nations according to a scientific method and to demark

clearly the natural law of nations "from that which is voluntary, stipulative and customary". This volume brought to a conclusion in 1748 his eight volume work on "The Law of Nature treated according to a Scientific Method".

Wolff's treatment of the law of nations places the emphasis on method and system. By his close reasoning on many subjects he reaches conclusions which are now generally accepted though in dispute in the eighteenth century. His reasoning upon neutrality would not justify a state in taking the attitude advocated by some modern writers, for he maintains that it is allowable for a state to be neutral if it "be to the interest of the state". As has often been the case, even with later writers, he at times confuses impartiality and neutrality.

The translator, Professor Joseph H. Drake, has caught the spirit of the original. The sympathetic introduction by Dr. Otfried Nippold adds to the understanding of Wolff's method and the significance of his work in many other fields as well as the field of international law.

Harvard University. GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON.

La prépondérance française: Louis XIV, 1661-1715. Par A. DE SAINT-LÉGER, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Lille, et PHILIPPE SAGNAC, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Paris. [Peuples et civilisations, Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Louis Halphen et Philippe Sagnac.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1935. Pp. 563. 50 fr.)

THIS great series projected by Professors Halphen and Sagnac approaches completion of its vast program. Already some of its earlier volumes have gone into second and revised editions, which testifies not only to the skill of their authors but to the fashion in which this project has met the needs and tastes of our times. With the publication of this treatment of the Age of Louis XIV, and French preponderance—one of the most important of the volumes, especially from a French standpoint—the series takes on new value and new strength. Its authors, though working, we are told, in strict collaboration, have divided their great task into two different, though closely connected, parts. The history of politics, war, and diplomacy has, in general, fallen to the lot of Professor Saint-Léger; that of the internal history of France and of "civilization" to Professor Sagnac; and it is a tribute to both authors that it is not always easy, or, indeed, always possible, for one not familiar with that circumstance to realize the dividing line. It is, in fact, an admirable collaboration.

It is, no less, an admirable treatment of one of the most important, most complex, and most difficult periods of French and European history. It has, indeed, that advantage of unity which is afforded by the life and the ambitions of Louis XIV. Upon those ambitions and the resistance to them hangs

the whole history of the period between the Peace of the Pyrenees and the Peace of Utrecht. That great stretch of history the authors divide into three periods—the rise of Louis's power, from 1661 to 1678, the apogee, from 1678 to 1685, and the decline of French power from 1685 to 1715. In that there is nothing new or revolutionary; but in the intervening Book III, "La rénovation intellectuelle de l'Europe", there is a notable departure from conventional history which gives the work a distinctive character. That book contains three chapters, one on the "constitution" of modern science, one on the progress of rationalism, and one on the currents or movements in art and letters. That, expressed in terms of France, is essentially the same principle on which a modern school divides history not in the older terms of the Renaissance and the Reformation as marking the line between medieval and modern, but in terms of science and rationalism at the close of the seventeenth century as the true break between those two eras. To this these chapters lend their influence, and that influence is not slight.

If there is one characteristic which impresses one in the chapters on political history in this volume, it is their clarity. It would be hard to better the account of the world in 1661, or of the French monarchy at the accession of Louis XIV. It has in it something of the vision and the sweep of Sorel—and that, in one reviewer's mind, is the highest praise. The story which follows of the "politics of prestige" is old and familiar, but it is told freshly and vigorously. As far as one may judge from footnote references, it is based on printed sources, books, and articles. The familiar names of Lefèvre-Pontalis, of Japikse, Mignet, Pribram, Waddington, Erdmannsdörffer, Phillipson, with others less well known but no less authoritative occur throughout. Yet if there is here no new or striking contribution to our knowledge of the period from sources hitherto unexplored, there is, as well, no misinterpretation. It is an account which in all its essentials can be relied on to relate the facts without favor or prejudice.

From an English standpoint, one might suggest that the relations between William of Orange and the English Opposition in the years before the Glorious Revolution might have been stressed more, so that one might better understand what happened afterward. One may also regret the omission of the relations, however obscure, between the growing class of "propriétaires fonciers", "avides, arrogantes, ambitieux", and politics, even, or especially, in diplomacy in the years following 1688. These are, perhaps, only the peculiar fancies of a reviewer for more information on what seem to him of the greatest importance. If, again, he might venture to suggest that English Nonconformity played an even greater part in the designs of Louis XIV than it seems to get credit for in these pages, this might, again, seem merely stressing his own predilections. Finally, he finds no clear answer to the great problem as to why Louis XIV chose to challenge England's enmity by recognizing the Old Pretender, James Stuart, as king of England on his father's death.

Despite the explanation here given, that still remains more of a mystery than would appear from these pages, in one mind, at least.

These, and other questions which arise as one reads these entertaining and instructive chapters, remain, after all, minor matters in the face of the great sweep of this long history. Only, when we come to know more of some of them, if ever, we shall be forced to rewrite some of its pages in the light of greater knowledge of how and why some of these things happened as they did.

Harvard University. W. C. Abbott.

Vauban, 1633-1707. Par P. Lazard, colonel du génie, docteur ès lettres de l'Université de Paris. Préface de M. le général Weygand. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1934. Pp. v, 658. 60 fr.)

Colonel Lazard has written a very full life of Vauban. He has even taken the trouble, in order to provide an appropriate setting for his narrative, to prepare chapters on the origin of the corps of engineers and on the science of fortification before Vauban. The first illustrates the curious anomalies of military organization in the days of Louis XIV and the second serves to reiterate the fact, already pointed out by others, that Vauban did not so much invent new methods of fortification as manifest an extraordinary skill in adapting methods already known.

In pursuing the story of Vauban's life the author rejects the usual chronological method and divides his study into sections dealing with Vauban's different activities. The narrative of his military career naturally receives the most attention, but there are sections on his work as a military engineer, on his private life, on his contribution to the organization and methods of infantry, and on his part in the development of the artillery. His ideas about the reorganization of the army, his contribution to civil life, and even his proposals for the navy receive separate treatment. It is an impressive diversity of activity that is brought out, evidence of extraordinary versatility.

One of the most interesting features of Colonel Lazard's book is his description of Vauban's thoughts upon public affairs. He paints him as a farseeing critic of the system and conditions of his own day although, as was not unusual with such critics, a devoted admirer of the monarchy. There is little to show, however, that Vauban's excellent ideas ever achieved much except, at the last, to cost him the favor of the government.

Probably the best sections of the book are those that analyze Vauban's contribution to the art of fortification and siegecraft. Colonel Lazard points out very carefully that Vauban ought not to be regarded as the originator of a set system of fortification, that he himself specifically rejected such an idea when he said, "The art of fortification does not consist of rules and systems, but solely of good sense and experience". If Vauban must be credited with

the parentage of a system, it is far more accurate to picture him as the author of a system for besieging fortified places than of one for erecting them. It was far truer to say that a fortress assaulted by Vauban was as good as taken than that one built by him was invulnerable.

This sensible evaluation of Vauban's contribution to the military art is perhaps the best feature of Colonel Lazard's biography. In spite of that merit, however, the book makes rather unsatisfactory reading. Because of its peculiar organization it seems too much like an autopsy. Vauban is taken methodically to pieces and spread out on the dissecting table for the student's examination. The separate features of his career and character thus exposed to view are individually so imposing as to leave no doubt that they belonged to a man of unusual capacities and accomplishments. But it is impossible to put these remains together again in a fashion to give a really satisfying picture of the living man. His development, his personality, and his influence refuse to come into focus, even though Colonel Lazard has quoted extensively from Vauban's writings. In fact, the use of quotations is much too extensive and they have been gleaned, for the most part, from rather formal treatises that do but little to illuminate the living quality of the man. All in all, the book is difficult reading and does not quite convince the reader that all the qualities and accomplishments listed belonged to one living man. No biography can be really satisfactory that leaves its hero in pieces, no matter how imposing the fragments.

Swarthmore College. TROYER S. ANDERSON.

Marlborough: his Life and Times. By The Right Honourable WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume III, *1702-1704;* volume IV, *1704-1705.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1935. Pp. 364; 296. $6.00.)

IN these volumes Marlborough is seen majestical and triumphant at the climax of his career. Unused letters from the Blenheim archives add something to our knowledge of him as a person, and more to our understanding of the difficulties which gave him more trouble than did the armies of Louis XIV. That the discordant Alliance instead of falling apart, limped along in its inco-ordinate war-making, was the fruit of the duke's inexhaustible patience, "his massive superiority alike over events and men" (III, 233). When all is said, however, he remains fairly inscrutable. "One of the barriers between history and Marlborough is his self-restraint", remarks Mr. Churchill. "At the worst he is 'uneasy,' or 'will pass his time ill.' At the best he will make the enemy 'uneasy,' or 'do some service for the Queen,' if only they will 'venture' " (III, 220). To offset this reticence his descendant and biographer is fluent, caustic, and audacious, with more of Sarah than of John in him. But the reader, dividing his attention pleasurably between the two male Churchills, notes a kinship of spirit between them, for both are

aristocratic and Tory by inclination, and for both war has an exhilaration that surmounts its horrors. "There is no moment in war more thrilling than a surprise attack at dawn" (IV, 209). "So they rode them down and killed them all, or chased them into the Danube" (IV, 39). Mr. Churchill's experiences as war correspondent and war minister, which have enabled him to write a capital chapter on "The Structure of the War", and move him here and there to question the wisdom of Marlborough's decisions, barb certain of his comparisons. Queen Anne's government received from the front bulletins "more informing than the ones we used to have in the Great War" (III, 15). Of the treatment of enemy aliens he remarks: "Of course, nowadays, with the many improvements that have been made in international morals and behaviour, all enemy subjects . . . would, as in every other state based on an educated democracy, be treated within twenty-four hours as malignant foes, flung into internment camps, and their private property stolen to assist the expenses of the war." Whereas in Marlborough's day, "The main acceptances of a polite civilization still reigned across the lines of opposing armies, and mob violence and mechanical propaganda had not yet been admitted to the adjustment of international disputes" (III, 98). The French were "by no means less prone than other races to require the highest conduct from allies" (IV, 213). The life of the twentieth century generalissimo "is not different, except in its glory, from that of a painstaking, punctual public official, and far less agitating than that of a Cabinet Minister who must face an angry Chamber on the one hand or an offended party upon the other" (III, 115).

Since party warfare has changed no whit since Queen Anne prayed to be delivered from it, Mr. Churchill finds himself entirely at home in the politics of the early eighteenth century. "The whole Tory Party thought the practice [Occasional Conformity] wicked, blasphemous, deceitful, an outrage upon the body and blood of Christ, and also extremely inconvenient at election times" (III, 94). As witty and ironical are some of his characterizations, for example, of Rochester (III, 67), and Victor Amadeus of Savoy (III, 199 ff.). He is at his best in glancing appreciations in which man, act, and moment are caught simultaneously. It would be difficult to better the brief sentence in which St. John is brought into the story: "This brilliant being was now flying speedfully upward" (III, 312). Apropos of the action by which the duke pierced the famous Lines of Brabant Mr. Churchill observes: "Marlborough dealt separately in daring and in prudence" (IV, 214). The French generals, as the campaign of 1704 narrowed toward Blenheim, "discoursed agreeably upon the forthcoming operations" (III, 319), but on that day Tallard "saw doom outstaring him" (IV, 103).

If certain of these scintillations recall the style and attack of the late Lytton Strachey, Mr. Churchill is probably unaware of it; both authors show a capacity for ironic disdain, and in that lies their resemblance. More surely

Mr. Churchill has at one time or another sat at the feet of Carlyle as historian, for there are many passages Carlylean in their stormy eloquence. Because he has less defending and exculpating to do in this than in the earlier period of Marlborough's career, Mr. Churchill is less peppery and contentious, less the dynast, more the historian. It would be impossible to dismiss this work lightly as the diverting hobby of an ex-minister. It is careful, accurate biography which many readers will wish to read again. What divides it from enduring historical achievement—is there such?—is not failure on the author's part to ascertain and study facts, and to present them brilliantly, is not the concentration on politics and war, nor the apologetics in Marlborough's behalf, but just the absence under the surface of facts and interpretation of that broad sunken river of historical knowledge in which indignation and other impetuosities, and the nostalgia for a magnificent past "when dukes were dukes" (III, 314) and heroes were heroes, are quenched or allayed; in which the dispassionate and often stodgy equanimity of the historian has its roots. In this learned journal one may hazard the supposition that humanity is as grand and as shabby today as it was in the Augustan years which have Mr. Churchill's approval.

Vassar College. VIOLET BARBOUR.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689–1789. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by L. G. WICKHAM LEGG, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. Volume VII, Part IV, *France, 1745–1789.* [Camden Third Series, Volume XLIX.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1934. Pp. xxxiii, 338.)

THE indignant denial of a British minister in 1774 that any close understanding existed between France and England could serve very well as a text for the forty years covered by this volume. In twelve of those years the two countries were at war, two were taken up by peace negotiations, and in the remaining twenty-six never at any time, except perhaps during the drafting of the Eden treaty, was the atmosphere other than one of profound distrust. To British secretaries of state the cause seemed clear; it was France's "restless and ever enterprizing spirit of ambition, which in spite of every idea of their own real interests [is] perpetually at work in forming new plans of intrigue if not of conquest". England, on the contrary, favored the maintaining of "universal and perpetual peace throughout the world", but always with the suave, firm reminder that the king, while he wished no new acquisitions, "will not be interrupted in the quiet possession of those he has got". Under such conditions strong language often and easily fell from the pens of British ministers: "If the Duke d'Aiguillon persists in forcing us to unbend the British sails, let him do it with his eyes open . . . it is not right that [he] should deceive himself by imagining that a British fleet when once out in such a crisis as this is, can parade about the seas doing nothing. . . ." Every move

France made was regarded with suspicion. A clause repeated in all ambassadorial instructions after 1763 implicitly assumed that in revenge she would as soon as possible try to recover lost possessions and retrieve the reputation of her arms, while in 1774 Rochford could even interpret the restoration of the parlements as meaning that Vergennes with their support would declare general bankruptcy as the necessary prelude to beginning hostilities. British ambassadors to the Most Christian King, therefore, acted without disguise as spies in an enemy country. Their primary function was to scrutinize the condition of the French army, the navy, finances, France's relations with other powers, the pacific or warlike disposition of her ministers and her court, in order to discover "dangerous tendencies". War with France was the normal expectancy of this period.

Such a general impression is more readily gained from selected documents than from a mass of manuscript material, and therein lies the justification for a series of this nature. Much depends, of course, upon the editor. Mr. Wickham Legg, while deliberately including only those incidents which gave rise to a definite instruction, has exercised a wise discretion, reflecting the significance of the various periods in the choice and number of documents. A third of this book deals with the peace negotiations of 1763 and 1783, and over half with the three embassies of Albemarle (1749–1754), Stormont (1772–1778), and Dorset (1784–1789). Only twenty pages are needed for the quiet years from 1763 to 1769, when in spite of the tone of the instructions George III's governments seem to have followed the old Tory policy of isolation. That venture came to an end with Choiseul's annexation of Corsica and his attempted interference in the Russo-Turkish war. An appendix contains the instructions given to Shirley and Mildmay in 1750 for the settlement of colonial boundaries, and to Eden in 1786 for the commercial treaty.

Yale University. STANLEY PARGELLIS.

Church and State in England in the XVIII^th^ Century. By the Rev. NORMAN SYKES, Professor of History in the University of London. [The Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1931–1933.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1934. Pp. xi, 455. $7.00.)

THESE lectures afforded to Professor Sykes, fortunately himself a clergyman, an opportunity to offer needed correctives on some points of the history of the eighteenth century Church. He undertakes chiefly to "portray" in a "series of sketches" the "episcopate in its political and ecclesiastical character, the higher and lower clergy in their several states and conditions, the parochial standards of the age, the predominant theories of the relations of church and state, and the true significance of the careers of Bishops Hoadly and Watson". The passages dealing with the "methods of episcopal appointment" in the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges are condensations from more

elaborate accounts given in the lectures, but omitted from the book for want of space. The author's sympathetic life of Bishop Gibson qualified him the better to write of the subsequent period, when the Duke of Newcastle was the "Church Minister". Students interested will hope that he may find opportunity to publish matter omitted on that subject.

Complaining with some ground that accounts by Evangelicals and High Churchmen have given to eighteenth century bishops less than their due, Professor Sykes is at pains to recount their industry in visiting their dioceses to perform the several duties of their office. He notes the difficulties of travel in the time, the lack of coadjutors, and the duty of attending Parliament for a considerable part of the year. He finds that attention to their duties by bishops in the eighteenth century compares favorably with the records of their predecessors in office in earlier times and ought not in justice to be compared to that done later with ampler facilities for travel.

The book is both something more and something less than its title indicates. The Church was a phase of the organized life of the nation that scarcely existed apart from the state. But the titles of the chapters indicate that the author was concerned with more than the relations of churchmen and political officials. The first chapter is introductory, "From Restoration to Revolution: Seed Time and Harvest". Then follow: the "Bench in Parliament and Politics"; the "Office and Work of a Bishop"; the "Ladder of Preferment"; the "Clerical Subalterns"; the "Whole Duty of Man"; the "Alliance of Church and State in England"; " 'Latitudinarian Traditours': Bishops Hoadly and Watson". The concluding chapter, "Years of Plenty", is a summary account of the later decades of the century. There is a selected bibliography at the end.

Though mindful of the weaknesses and abuses from which the Church in the eighteenth century was not free, Professor Sykes offers in these lectures sufficient evidence to show that it ministered in a large degree to the religious life of the people of the time. The most serious weakness of his book was caused by the necessity of presenting the matter in the form of lectures, thus inhibiting a sufficient use of chronological organization to make clear the changes observable through the century.

Duke University. W. T. Laprade.

Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Musuem. Volume V, *1771-1783*. By Mary Dorothy George, Litt.D. (London: British Museum. 1935. Pp. xxxix, 851.)

Sixty-five years ago the British Museum began the publication of a descriptive catalogue of its collection of satirical prints. Prepared by Frederic George Stephens, four volumes (the third being in two parts) covering the years 1320-1770 had been issued when further work was discontinued in 1883.

Now after a lapse of half a century, the trustees of the Museum have resumed publication. A successor to Mr. Stephens was happily found in Dr. M. Dorothy George, whose intimate knowledge of the period covered by the present volume is apparent on every page.

As explained in the preface, the short title of the work, continued for convenience from the earlier volumes, is not entirely accurate. The catalogue is based on a separate series of political and personal satirical prints in the Department of Prints and Drawings and does not profess to include, more than occasionally, items in other collections of the department or in the Museum Library. Mrs. George has wisely arranged the political prints by date of publication, instead of by date of earliest subject matter as in the preceding volumes, and has listed the personal and social satires after the political satires of each year. The title of each item is followed by a detailed description of the print itself and by as much commentary as is necessary to explain its allusions and intent. The author's descriptions are remarkably clear but, as this transatlantic reviewer must confess, often simply tantalize one with a desire to see the originals. Unfortunately for distant readers, the volume contains only one illustration, that being of the two earliest representations in the Museum of the typical John Bull, dated 1779, probably by Gillray. The trustees hope to continue the series down to the Reform Bill of 1832; perhaps future volumes may be somewhat more generously illustrated.

That the prints of the period are or should be an important source for the historian is abundantly clear from this catalogue. Not only are such things as costume and manners well illustrated but the repetitions and the changes of subject matter from year to year offer significant clues to the topics which engrossed public attention. For, as Mrs. George points out in her useful introduction, the prints "were for sale and they had to be popular". It is possible, however, to exaggerate the degree to which they reflect popular opinion, especially in connection with the political prints. The vast majority are antiministerial in tone. But the party in power is always more open to satire, and supporters of the Opposition, even though a minority, more apt to wield arrestingly the pen or—in this case—the artist's graver.

This volume, covering as it does the period of the American Revolution, is of particular interest to students of American history. The very first item described is a depiction of the Boston Massacre so similar to Paul Revere's celebrated print as to justify Mrs. George's suggestion that both were copied from the drawing by Henry Pelham. The degree of public interest in the colonial situation and in the war is indicated by the fact that the entries in the subject index listed under "America", numbering over two hundred, exceed those under any other heading. It is interesting to observe that there is only one unfavorable representation of Washington out of nine and that very few of the prints dealing with the revolting colonies are markedly hostile in tone.

Five indexes—of persons, of titles, of selected subjects (somewhat severely

restricted), of artists, and of printsellers and publishers—add to the usefulness of this work both to the historian and to the student of the graphic arts.

Yale University. LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The History of "The Times". Volume I, *"The Thunderer" in the Making, 1785-1841*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1935. Pp. xx, 514. $5.00.)

The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press from Caxton to Cromwell. By WILLIAM M. CLYDE, Lecturer in English Literature in the University of St Andrews. [St Andrews University Publications, No. 37.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xvi, 360. $4.25.)

WRITTEN by staff members who preserve the *Times'* tradition of "obstinate anonymity", this volume, the first in a series of three, marks the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the London *Times*. The book falls naturally into three divisions, corresponding to distinct phases in the early history of the paper: first, its foundation by John Walter I as a means of advertising a patented system of syllabic printing; second, its rescue from extinction by John Walter II, who placed the paper upon a sound economic foundation; and third, its establishment as an independent political power under the editorship of Thomas Barnes. Founded at a time when "Freedom of the press consisted only in the power to sell a paper's columns to better advantage than trade and commerce could yield", the *Times,* like all its contemporaries, lived by practices inconsistent with political independence and social integrity. A contract for printing under the board of customs, the imposition of contradiction and suppression fees, and a direct treasury subsidy of £300 annually in "reward for the politics" of the paper enabled the proprietor to derive some profit from his venture. In 1803 when the fortunes of the paper were ebbing, John Walter II became the responsible manager. By engaging able writers, by establishing rapid and dependable news service at a time when Englishmen were eager for Continental intelligence, by exploiting the mechanical steam-driven printing press, by greater attention to the expanding field of commercial advertising, and by generally shrewd management of the paper's business affairs he reconstructed out of the moribund *Times* a valuable newspaper property and made it independent of governmental or party patronage. For, as Edward Sterling explained to Lord Wellesley, a man whose paper brought him in nine or ten thousand per year was "equally above the influence of hope and fear". At that time the ownership of a popular newspaper did not lead direct to the House of Lords.

Thomas Barnes, who became editor in 1819 and whose control was complete from 1831 to 1841, took a prosperous journal reputed for its prompt and accurate news service and fashioned out of it a great engine of political publicity and propaganda. Denouncing Peterloo, championing Queen Caroline, advocating Catholic emancipation, "thundering for reform", and battling

with O'Connell, the paper was, in the main, only the amplified voice of "Fat old Barnes of *The Times*". Barnes, moreover, was influential in leading the newspaper public to regard the long leading articles, devoted almost exclusively to the great game of Whig versus Tory, as the central and vital feature of the newspaper. Excusing the failure to review novels, the editors explained that they had not time for romance, "except the extravagant romance of political life". The politically interested and the politically enfranchised formed the Victorian newspaper public.

A newspaper possesses a dual personality. It is a private business undertaking and it performs, in part at least, services of a public nature. It is customary to emphasize the latter and veil the former. But here we have a wealth of detail in regard to general business arrangements, costs of production and distribution, the stamp duties, the printing trades and circulation statistics. Valuable, too, is the detailed account of the complicated arrangement between the Walter printing business, the management of the paper, and the *Times'* shareholders.

Post-office and admiralty records, foreign office archives and the records of Printing House Square, together with diaries, reminiscences, and newspaper files have yielded material for the composition of this book. A sound bibliography and an appendix containing documents dealing with the relations between the press and the government are other admirable features of the work. Most anniversary histories of newspapers do not rise above the level of advertising puffs, but if the same standard of excellence is maintained in the later volumes, the *Times* will have a written history that surpasses anything of its kind that has yet appeared.

The volume by Mr. Clyde on the freedom of the press is not as broadly informatory as the title would lead the reader to expect. A brief chapter summarizing the legislation and decrees regulating printing, publishing, and the importation of foreign books in England from 1476 to 1637 introduces the main subject which is the vicissitudes that beset authors, journalists, and publishers during the Puritan revolution. It is the familiar story of privileged monopoly and preventive censorship operating through the Stationer's Company and the licensing system. Public thirst for news and views in a time of unrest and crisis made the problem of press control and discipline of primary importance. The Puritans began by advocating freedom of the press, not for 'papists' of course, but for themselves; later the Presbyterians claimed the same right but denied it to the Independents. When political power passed into the hands of the army leaders, in 1647, the preventive censorship was exercised with uncommon rigor against all royalist pamphleteers and news writers; and the act of September, 1649, exceeded in severity and scope the prelatical censorship during the period of Charles I's personal rule. Under the Protectorate the press became a political instrument in the hands of Cromwell and his council. Limited in scope and heavily charged with fac-

tual detail, the volume forms an important supplement, and in some instances a corrective, to J. B. Williams's *History of English Journalism to the Foundation of the Gazette.*

The University of Virginia. ORON JAMES HALE.

La cession de Parga: Les péripéties d'un ouvrage d'Ugo Foscolo. Par SP. D. MINOTTO. (Athens. 1934. Pp. 42. 20 fr.)

L'âme grecque d'Ugo Foscolo: Documents inédits. Par COSTAS KEROFILAS. (Athens. 1935. Pp. 28. 25 drs.)

THE cession of Parga, the one free Greek community, by Great Britain to Ali Pasha in 1819, caused considerable stir at the time, and Foscolo, born, like his latest biographers, at Zante, wrote a book to stigmatize this action of the "Protectors" of the Ionian Islands. The monograph of M. Minotto asks, and endeavors to solve, the question, why this book was not published by the author. Rejecting the idea that the British government paid for Foscolo's silence, and explaining the latter's sudden affluence at "Digamma Cottage" by the legacy left to his illegitimate daughter, he considers that Capo d'Istria's arguments and the author's fears at a moment when reaction prevailed throughout Europe and he might have been expelled from England were the reasons for his suppression of his book, which, in any case, would not have altered the fate of Parga. M. Minotto, as is natural in an Ionian, is not quite impartial in his judgment of British policy. A few slips have crept into his work: Sir Thomas Maitland was not a "lord", the Congress of Vienna did not cede "Piedmont" to Austria, and there is a new edition of Hidromenos's *History,* the author of which was descended from one of the exiles from Parga.

M. Kerofilas, whose Zantiote origin and long residence in Italy peculiarly fit him for writing on Foscolo, treats of the poet's relations with the brothers Voultsos, his cousins, of whom the elder was one of the three members of the Ionian parliament under the British protectorate sent to London with the text of the Constitution of 1817. The National Library of Athens contains twenty-five letters from Foscolo to the brothers, twenty-two of which were published by the late Camillo Antona-Traversi and Angelo Ottolini in the *Nuova antologia* of January, 1935. M. Kerofilas uses these letters to show that Foscolo never forgot his birthplace, and repeatedly expressed the intention of ending his days there in a villa, whence he could gaze on the Ionian Sea. In the Athenian mansion of the grandson of one of the brothers are preserved a portrait of the poet, presented by him to Dionysios Voultsos in 1817, two dedications in modern Greek of books given by him to his cousin, and the manuscript of his tragedy, *Ajax.* Of all these treasures, and of Voultsos's portrait M. Kerofilas publishes reproductions. The letters show the poet's dislike of the British, which was reciprocated, and reveal his intention of publishing a long letter on the political situation in Greece and the Ionian Islands,

which, however, was never executed. He speaks of his daughter, by an English woman whom he had known when he was in Flanders as a soldier of Napoleon, writes about her to Gino Capponi, and suggests as a means of extracting himself from his financial embarrassment in London, that the Ionians should appoint him as their paid representative in London to act as moral and political mentor of their young compatriots, who came there for purposes of study. The correspondence ceases from 1818 to 1827, when it was resumed shortly before the poet's death. It shows that Greece may regard him as her son.

Athens, Greece. WILLIAM MILLER.

Fabulous Monster. By J. DANIEL CHAMIER. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1934. Pp. viii, 357. $5.00.)

DESPITE the ironical and mythological implications of the title and the dozen or more references to the unicorn, this is an interesting, readable, and sympathetic biography of the ex-Kaiser, William II. The author has based his study on printed materials. *Die grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette* and the *Kautsky Documents* have been used extensively for the marginalia of the Kaiser. Unfortunately, little use has been made of monographic writings.

Chamier rejects flatly any psycho-pathological interpretation of the emperor, whose personality is not to be explained on the basis of a physical disability or of descent from stolid or mad German princes. Caustic is the comment of the author on those writers who have founded their theories on the Kaiser's arm or on some unspecified affection running down his left side (p. 195). Chamier does not overlook the impulsiveness of the man, his nervous excitability, and his tendency to verbal extravagances. These characteristics have been overemphasized and have obscured the presence of other and finer qualities. William II was a man of parts, the possessor of a charming personality, intelligent, and thoroughly honest. As a ruler he was no autocrat, but a constitutional monarch. He made appointments to higher positions in accordance with recommendations from responsible quarters (p. 201) and followed, in matters of state, the proposals of his ministers, frequently against his own better judgment. Had his counsels prevailed the principal errors of detail in foreign policy would not have occurred (p. 339). His ministers and advisers are represented as ambitious and intriguing men who made him their scapegoat. Bülow is roundly denounced for his conduct in the *Daily Telegraph* affair. In the field of foreign affairs the author stresses Anglo-German relations. The Kaiser is described in sweeping terms as "the only serious German advocate either of a consistent Anglophile policy or of an Anglo-German agreement" (p. 339). Of the Haldane mission Chamier writes, "The brain reels, indeed, at the idea that we should have offered any nation the privilege of keeping its fleet, by treaty, smaller than ours, while we remained free to fight it" (p. 230). The outbreak of the World War is pre-

sented from the point of view of a moderate revisionist, with the foreign policy of Sir Edward Grey characterized as "ambiguous".

The book represents a sincere endeavor to rehabilitate the person and policies of a much misunderstood and much maligned figure. Chamier has, perhaps, gone too far at times in his spirited defense of the Kaiser and in criticism of his ministers. These are matters of interpretation where opinions naturally differ. There are several slips in dates and some instances where a use of the monographic literature might have led the author to a different conclusion. Chamier has, nevertheless, made out a strong case for his subject and has produced in popular form a creditable biography of William Hohenzollern.

The University of Michigan. HOWARD M. EHRMANN.

The Russian Revolution, 1917–1921. By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1935. Pp. xi, 511; ix, 556. $10.00.)

MR. Chamberlin has accomplished a very difficult task with considerable skill. To paint a picture of Russia during the period of revolution and civil war—a period full of bewilderment and confusion, to give unity to that picture, and to weave the mass of detail into a developing historical process is no ordinary enterprise. The author has used the relevant literature with great thoroughness and the skill with which he has extracted the pith of his authorities and combined the various and sometimes divergent sources into a coherent narrative is an achievement of a high order.

Mr. Chamberlin's opening chapter discusses the social forces in Russian history. In the space of seventeen pages he conducts the reader through ten centuries of Russian history with the purpose of proving that the "Gordian Knot of class and social antagonism . . . could only be cut by the sharp sword of revolution". The argument is conceived along the familiar lines of the radical Russian intelligentsia who could see in their country's past nothing but a series of nightmares and acts of brutal political oppression. The chapter will hardly convince those who are not committed to the theory of strict historical determinism; neither will it appeal to those investigators who believe that Russia's most critical problem—the land question—was fairly on its way toward solution during the period immediately preceding the World War. The succeeding two chapters give interesting sketches of the pioneer period of revolutionary activity, of the revolution of 1905, and of the effects of the World War. These are followed by a more detailed account of the overthrow of the imperial regime, the history of the Provisional Government, the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, and the first six months of the Soviet regime. The scene of the czar's abdication is described in all its dramatic setting, and much new light is thrown on the behavior of Nicholas II during this most fateful hour of his life.

The second volume begins with the uprising of the Czechoslovaks in the early summer of 1918 and ends with the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921. The bulk of the volume is devoted to the different campaigns of the civil war but it contains also an account of Soviet internal policies, the Communist party, and the foundation of the Third International. Students of Soviet economics will be disappointed with the relatively cursory treatment of the economics of communism. The chapter on War Communism is sketchy and there are important omissions. Mr. Chamberlin seems to lend support to the theory that the economic system which prevailed in Russia from 1918 until 1921 was in a considerable measure due to the contingencies of civil war. This is a highly controversial issue on which even Bolshevik economists are far from being in agreement. Soviet writers often refer to the system not as War Communism, but as Integral Communism, the implication being that the measures enacted were part and parcel of communism and were not due to war emergencies. It is also pointed out that such features of the system as state regulation of peasant farming, abolition of wage payment, and labor conscription did not appear until 1920 when the civil war was over.

One may also venture to disagree with the author when he applies the designation of counter-revolution to the anti-Bolshevik movement headed by a committee of Socialist-Revolutionist members of the Constituent Assembly (ch. XX). It is understandable that the Bolsheviks looked upon their socialist opponents as counter-revolutionists, but there seems to be no valid reason why an impartial investigation should follow them on that point. The author usually appears at better advantage in dealing with the activities of the Volunteer Army of General Denikin, and no chapter of his work will be read with greater interest than the account of the Second Kuban Campaign in the summer of 1918. Here Mr. Chamberlin's lucid style of writing is of great value in illuminating a most complicated situation.

It is a pity that there are so many errors and misprints in the work. The reviewer counted eighty-nine mistakes in the index alone and there are many more in the text. For some curious reason certain of the Red Army chiefs are referred to as "generals". Even Uritsky, the head of the Petrograd Cheka, is given the rank of general (II, 542). There are also numerous errors in the chronological table. The Third Universal of the Ukrainian Rada was issued on November 20, 1917, and not on January 25, 1918. The agreement between the Bolsheviks and the Left Socialist-Revolutionists was concluded on November 27, 1917, and not on December 1. The independence of Transcaucasia was proclaimed on April 22, 1918, and not on April 9. The extraordinary revolutionary tax was adopted on October 30, 1918, and not on November 2. The Soviet decree on mobilization was issued on May 29, 1918, and not June 9 (II, 405). General Krasnov's letter to the Kaiser asking for German intervention was dispatched on July 11, 1917, and not on June 28.

These lapses, however, do not mar seriously the value of Mr. Chamberlin's

work and should not obscure the fact that he has made a notable contribution to the understanding of the Russian Revolution.

Page School, The Johns Hopkins University. JAMES BUNYAN.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Edited by DUMAS MALONE. Volumes XV-XVI, *Platt-Seward.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1935. Pp. x, 647; ix, 621. $12.50 each; $250 for the complete set.)

THE publication of two additional installments of the *Dictionary of American Biography* demonstrates anew the great value which the completed set will have for students interested in the manifold aspects of America's past. It is difficult to understand Professor T. C. Smith's failure to mention this epochal undertaking in his account of American historiographical progress printed in the April number of the *Review.* Not only has the *Dictionary* involved the collaboration of a considerable number of scholars who have never before appeared between the same covers, but each successive volume evidences that the editorial staff continues to work with unflagging zest and without sacrifice of the high standards originally set. The fifteenth volume is the product of 363 contributors, the sixteenth of 353. The new volumes add respectively 687 and 675 biographies to those already printed, bringing the grand total to 10,898. The names distinguished by greatest frequency of mention are Read, Reade, Reed, and Reid, 44 times; Rodgers and Rogers, 34; Robinson, 30; and Porter, 26.

Those who have not yet discovered how sprightly the dignified *Dictionary* can sometimes be are referred particularly to the notices of F. D. Rouquette, Anne N. Royall, Samuel Samuels, Henry Plummer, Jonathan Plummer, and Dan Rice. Finely appropriate is the account of the younger Charles Scribner's participation in the planning and publication of the *Dictionary.* Some will be surprised to find sketches of Dred Scott and of Sacco and Vanzetti, for these men were significant not in themselves but rather as symbols of larger conflicts of interest and opinion. Most readers, however, will approve of this fresh evidence of the comprehensive scope of the work. Less understandable is the inclusion of a biography of the incurably demented Daniel Pratt whose sole title to renown is that he roamed the country for a half century, affording sport especially for undergraduates. Among the sketches that were looked for in vain were those of Franklin Platt (1844-1900), geologist; Josephine Pollard (1842-1892), writer of children's books; Hazard A. Potter (1811-1869), surgeon; Robert Purvis (1810-1898), abolitionist; Mary Traill Spence Putnam (1810-1898), author; Josiah M. Read (1809-1901), inventor; Louis T. Rebisso (1837-1899), sculptor; Roland L. Reed (1852-1901), actor; Ithian S. Richardson (1806-1892), inventor; Emilius O. Randall (1850-1919),

court reporter and historian; Frank T. Robinson (1845-1898), art critic; Frederic Rondel (1826-1892), painter; William H. Rushforth (1844-1892), inventor; James A. Ryder (1852-1895), embryologist; Nathan Salsbury (1845-1902), actor and manager; and Caroline M. Sawyer (1812-1894), author and editor.

Readers will differ as to the articles of outstanding merit, but probably most lists would include the following: R. B. Merriman's "William Hickling Prescott", S. E. Morison's "Josiah Quincy" (1772-1864), Laura A. White's "Robert Barnwell Rhett", Dumas Malone's "James Ford Rhodes", T. F. Hamlin's "Henry Hobson Richardson", C. J. Tilden's "John Augustus Roebling", R. B. Perry's "Josiah Royce", R. H. Shryock's "Benjamin Rush", Dexter Perkins's "Richard Rush" and "William Henry Seward", Max Lerner's "Thomas Fortune Ryan", and J. A. Krout's "Philip John Schuyler". The necessary brevity with which certain of the sketches in these volumes have been done and the lack of adequate biographies elsewhere suggest the desirability of fuller studies. Among the persons worthy of more extended portraiture are William Plumer, Hiram Powers, Matthew S. Quay, Samuel J. Randall, Walter Rauschenbusch, Thomas Buchanan Read, Jacob A. Riis, David Rittenhouse, W. W. Rockhill, and Henry H. Rogers.

The inaccuracies which have been noted are relatively few compared with the magnitude of the work. There is a recurrence of the tendency, remarked upon in an earlier review, for contributors to indulge in fanciful notions as to the biological transmission of acquired characteristics. Thus it is related that one man "began life with . . . inborn qualities of industry, honesty, and faithfulness" (XV, 33); another "inherited an interest in military affairs and in education from his father" (XV, 39); a third "inherited his artistic and literary ambitions" from his mother (XV, 287); and still another "inherited his love of learning" (XVI, 344). Such statements belong to an outmoded age of biographical writing. Some errors of a less general character merit passing notice. Clay and Van Buren in their famous letters regarding Texas did not oppose annexation *per se* (XV, 36), but merely immediate annexation—which was quite a different matter. The agreement for the joint occupation of Oregon dated from 1818, not 1827 (XV, 37). Clay did not run for president in 1840 (XV, 191). The analysis of the Dawes Act (XV, 336) is misleading, if not inaccurate. To say that Nance O'Neil attained her first stage fame "in the early years of the nineteenth century" (XV, 375) is to libel a delightful actress who was not born until 1874. The assertion that the Harmony Society "was by far the most successful" of the communistic colonies (XV, 383) contradicts similar unqualified claims made for two other groups in preceding volumes of the *Dictionary* (*cf.* XII, 586, and XIII, 590). The spelling of John Fleeming's name with a single "e" (XVI, 23) repeats an error (*cf.* VI, 459-460) to which the reviewer earlier called attention. The United States Sanitary Commission was founded in 1861, not 1859

or some earlier time (XVI, 102). Russell Sage's fortune in 1906 is given by one contributor as $63,000,000 (XVI, 291) and by another as $70,000,000 (XVI, 293). Some minor inconsistencies of editorial practice persist, notably the admission of variant spellings of the same word. Examples not hitherto remarked upon are archaeology and archeology; baptized and baptised; Hayti and Haiti; interne and intern; and woolen and woollen.

Harvard University. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

The Puritans and Music in England and New England: a Contribution to the Cultural History of two Nations. By PERCY A. SCHOLES. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1934. Pp. xxii, 428. $8.50.)

THIS book is a defense and a vindication. As its author says, "It aims to put an end, once for all, to the circulation of a calumny". The calumny is expressed in what we may all frankly admit to be a myth, that the Puritans in England cherished a violent hatred for music in any form except metrical psalm tunes, and effectively discouraged all other forms, and that their American brethren went so far in their repressive energy as to limit the number of psalm tunes by statute, and to forbid by law all instrumental music except that of the drum, the trumpet, and the jewsharp.

With a formidable armament of instance and quotation, drawn from sources of the most widely varied character, the author wages a lively warfare against the purveyors of false history. For England he makes Hawkins and Burney, especially the latter, the original scapegoats, while for America the notorious Rev. Samuel Peters is cast for this role. Serious historians in England and in America have rejected the myth, but the startling array of quotations which persist in repeating the legend, particularly those drawn from textbooks meant for school and college use down to the present day, justify our writer's valiant and (in this reviewer's opinion) entirely successful effort to discredit any who may venture henceforth to repeat the calumny.

A perusal of the twenty-one chapters of the book removes all doubt that, even though the reforming religious zeal of the Puritans proscribed elaborate liturgical music, and in spite of the known instances of organ-smashing, the Puritans ever adopted even outside of the church the Quaker's frank rejection of music of all kinds. Besides Cromwell and Milton, whose musical associations were fairly well known, we are introduced to one Puritan after another who encouraged music or enjoyed it. One of Cromwell's captains, Silas Taylor, actually contributed dances for stringed instruments to the *Court-Ayres* published by John Playford in 1655. The publication of secular music was by no means suppressed during the eleven years of absolute Puritan domination. Oxford, Cambridge, and London had frequent (in some cases weekly) music club meetings which were openly attended by Puritans. The Inns of Court produced masques. City waits continued to function, in some cities at any rate.

The activity could not have been so great in America, for the settlers, concerned chiefly with subduing a wilderness to their pressing economic needs, had little time or inclination for the cultivation of an art that requires leisure and a modicum of wealth. But one thing is evident from our author's researches. The famous blue laws paid no attention to music as such.

The polemical character of the book makes a certain amount of reiteration and of disruptive heaping up of evidence inevitable. The evidence is conclusive. But the chief, the really great value of the work, lies in the fact that it gives us a faithful picture, never heretofore painted with such detail, of the musical life of the culmination of the Puritan era.

Cornell University. OTTO KINKELDEY.

The Caracas Company, 1728–1784: a Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trade. By ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY, University of California at Los Angeles. [Harvard Historical Studies, Volume XXXVII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1934. Pp. xii, 358. $4.00.)

IT was in the year following the suspension of the operations of the too successful Austrian Ostend Company that the Caracas Company was established to carry on Spain's trade with Venezuela. Dr. Hussey in his study of the history of the company points out that this corporation was Spain's principal venture in the field of privately directed monopolistic commercial companies, and one that, from its creation in 1728 to its merger with the Philippine Company in 1784, afforded the theory of monopoly its best possible test. Throughout its history the corporation had the friendly support of the crown while its field of activity was the fertile, potentially wealthy province of Venezuela which, the author thinks, was "as well adapted as any Spanish province could be to the operations of a monopolistic company" in that the character of the crop, principally the very marketable commodity of cocoa, facilitated control of the trade. Despite these and other advantages "it did not succeed in satisfying the hopes of its investors or of the government". Though its provinces were exempted for some time from inclusion in the expanding "free trade" area that constituted an important feature of Charles III's reform program the corporation's privileges eventually melted away before the enthusiasm that in the last quarter of the eighteenth century ended exclusivism in Spanish American trade. Other factors were involved in the decline. Like other monopolistic trading companies the Caracas Company was pursued throughout its history by "the need of itself granting privileges and of laboring outside its chosen field in order to retain ministerial favor". Within its field it was never able to overcome its more efficient competitor, illicit trade.

An introductory chapter traces the development of Spanish overseas commerce through the period of the Hapsburgs when "any suggestion of such semi-sovereign powers as many non-Spanish companies possessed would

have been regarded by the Spanish king as well nigh treason", to the coming of the Bourbons when "every important writer took Colbertism as a model for all Spanish commercial activity". The general failure of the many monopolistic enterprises that made their appearance in the early Bourbon period, including the noted Havana and Barcelona companies, Dr. Hussey considers played an important part in bringing the Caracas Company, the greatest of these ventures, to the ground.

The description of the ill-natured reception of the new departure of Spanish policy in Venezuela where "the inhabitants flamed with resentment at the Company's intrusion on an illegal trade so long pursued that it seemed a vested right", the examination of their complaints against the company that burst at times into riot, the account of the attitude of the royal governors, and the relation of the activities of the contrabandists constitute as valuable a portion of this book as does the discussion of the company's place in the general history of monopoly. A chapter on "The Rise of Free Trade", which is defined as "a general trade without restrictions to Spanish nationals but with no thought of admitting foreign participation", is one of the most useful in the book.

This study is obviously based on wide and intelligent reading of Spanish and other archival sources and is a sound and welcome contribution to Spanish American economic history. A certain lack of effective emphasis in style compels overclose concentration of attention to its crowded pages and tends unfortunately to limit the interest of the book to students in its special field. An obvious typographical error occurs in the running title of the first pages of chapter VII. There are useful appendixes and a critical bibliography.

Smith College VERA L. BROWN.

A Constitutional History of the United States. By ANDREW C. MCLAUGHLIN, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Chicago. [The Century Political Science Series, edited by Frederic A. Ogg.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1935. Pp. xi, 833. $5.00.)

As Professor McLaughlin's volume shows, the term "Constitutional History" enjoys with us Americans a broad and somewhat varied connotation. Some of these pages deal with institutional origins and developments, some with the broader doctrines and principles which have been declared by the Supreme Court in its interpretation of the Constitution of the United States; but substantially half the volume is devoted to an account of political controversies over the nature of the Constitution and of the relationship of the nation and the states under it—those controversies which issued largely from the defensive necessities of slavery, came to culmination in the Civil War, and receded rapidly with the termination of Reconstruction.

Nor is it solely from the tale of his pages that the author's preponderant

interest is to be inferred. In his preface he declares: "This volume does not pretend to be in the main a history of constitutional law as announced by the courts. I have sought above all . . . to associate constitutional principles with actual political and social conditions and with actual controversies. . . . The most significant and conclusive constitutional decision was not rendered by a court of law but delivered at the famous meeting of General Grant and General Lee at Appomattox." And on page 511, in discussing the subject of "Slavery in the Territories", he remarks, anent the superstition that the historian "must stand stolid and unmoved in the presence of a great controversy which was one of the most momentous in the annals of America and the world": "This is supposed to be his attitude; but no one, unless ceasing to be human, can fail to be stirred by the events of those years."

These words are significant and important, for they indicate the significance and importance of the volume itself. Professor McLaughlin has succeeded in writing an account of the greatest constitutional controversy of our history which, in addition to profound learning, combines to a very extraordinary degree the qualities of aloofness and discriminating judgment with those of imaginative participation and freshness of interest. One may add that he is the one person in the world who could have done this; and that it can never, *need* never, be done again. As to its principal theme, the work is final.

From what point of view does Professor McLaughlin survey his subject—where do his sympathies lie? I should call him—with the utmost respect—a State Rights Federalist. He stresses the theory that the obligation of the states under the Constitution arises from its being a compact among them. He accepts the doctrine that there is a field of power absolutely reserved to the states, as well as the doctrine that the states within their sphere are the "equals" of the national government in its sphere. Also he would differentiate the conception of state "sovereignty" underlying the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 from that of Calhoun; and he treats the quality of the national government as a government over individuals as excluding the possibility of its acting upon the states as such. Finally he pictures the relationship between the states and the national government as something fairly fixed and permanent—as having been, indeed, predetermined in many of its essentials even in colonial times.

The great thing to be said for this general point of view is that it undoubtedly represents the attitude of a decided majority of the American people throughout most of the century between 1800 and 1900, and that no other interpretation of our constitutional system can claim a comparable predominance and prestige. Nor is this point of view *in articulo mortis* even today, as witness Chief Justice Hughes's opinion for the Court in the recent Poultry Case—to say nothing of the declamatory exertions of contemporary defenders of the Constitution.

and J. Roberts in U.S. v. Butler (1936).

The continued viability of this view of the Federal system is not, of

course, a pertinent question in the present connection. It *is* pertinent, however, to point out that a too close adherence to it may cut one off from a complete evaluation of certain aspects of our constitutional history. For illustration, one may take the controversy over whether the Constitution was ratified by "the people of the States" or "the people of the United States". Both parties to this controversy assume that the Constitution was established by a pre-existing political entity or entities and owed its authority to that fact. But the predominant view in 1787 and for some years thereafter was that the adoption of the Constitution was simply the act of human beings, and as such derived its full force and effect from their primitive and inherent right to choose their political institutions. It therefore owed nothing at all to *existing* political institutions except its facilitation. Ignoring this first stage in the evolution of what in time became the most fundamental of all controversies over the Constitution, Professor McLaughlin overlooks the full significance of certain materials which he quotes bearing on the issue (see pp. 179, 205, 215, 302, 388, 438), and in one instance seems to be led into positive error. I refer to his assertion (pp. 280-281, n. 12) that "John Marshall also believed that the people of the states adopted the Constitution". The allusion appears to be to the words used by Marshall in his opinion in McCulloch *v.* Maryland (4 Wheat. at p. 403). The passage in question will not bear such a construction. It asserts the purely popular origin of the Constitution, just as do Webster's words in his reply to Hayne (see p. 438). Indeed, there would seem to be an element of paradox in insisting on the one hand on the character of the national government as a government over individuals, and asserting on the other hand that it was established by the "supreme authority in each state" (*Federalist,* No. 39). It must be admitted, however, that Professor McLaughlin did not invent this paradox. The inventor was James Madison.

While the chief importance of this volume is that of a history of political controversies over the nature of the Constitution and of the Union under it, it has also much of value to offer in the field of institutional history and in that of judicial interpretation of the Constitution. Especially interesting in both connections is what the author has to say concerning "Judicial Review of Acts of Congress". "There was", he writes (p. 185), "no complete and definite announcement by the Convention of a court's duty to pronounce congressional acts void. And still, it may be fair to say, the existence of this judicial power was by most of the delegates taken for granted." This puts the matter excellently, except perhaps that it might have been added that one of the delegates at least—no less a person than James Madison—soon recanted (*Writings,* Hunt ed., V, 294).

But conceding judicial review, what is the extent of the authority of a pronouncement by the Court in the field of Constitutional interpretation? On this question Professor McLaughlin ranges himself rather with Jefferson,

Jackson, and Lincoln, than with our modern champions of the notion of the finality of the Court's version of the Constitution. As he puts it: "From the acknowledgment of the Court's right and duty to interpret and apply the Constitution, as the Court views the Constitution, to the declaration that the Court by its decision fixes upon the Constitution an interpretation that must last forever and beyond, is a far cry" (p. 582). The dogma of finality he traces in the first instance to the exigencies of pro-slavery and the political convenience of its panders (see pp. 413 ff., 513, 549, 552, 582, 673).

Nor is this the only respect in which the effects of slavery touch present-day theories of the Constitution. In some brilliant pages at the opening of his chapter on "The Fourteenth Amendment" (ch. 49), Professor McLaughlin asks why the American people became aware of the problems begotten of modern industrialism so tardily. In answer he "hazards the guess" that the slavery question was one of the causes. In getting rid of a system of labor "as old as the Pyramids" the American people flattered themselves that they had become reformers, and were led to indulge the notion "that if the laborer were not *owned* by the capitalist, he was free" (pp. 721-722). What is more, this entire volume is replete with proof that those versions of the Constitution which today obstruct the extension of national power over a nationalized economy owe a great deal to the effort of slavery to barricade itself behind state lines. And even this is not the whole story. For while the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution for the benefit of the former victims of slavery, actually it is business management which has been, again, the real beneficiary (pp. 726 ff).

The volume as a whole is not exactly light reading, and considering the nature of the materials dealt with could hardly be expected to be. Again and again, however, Professor McLaughlin rewards his readers with some observation of rare discernment—the *mot juste,* so to speak, for the topic under consideration. That insight which complete command of a subject can alone supply is encountered in these pages at every turn.

Princeton University. EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volumes I, *General* (preliminary printing), II, III, *The Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, 1787-1803.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1934. Pp. xv, 37; xi, 694; v, 588. 15 cents; $2.00; $2.00.)

IN the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio the United States first worked out the system of expansion by organization of territories, assured of gradual advance to full representative government and statehood. From this system there have been such deviations as the division of states, the annexation of Texas as a state, and the outright creation of the State of California, and such reversals as the granting of independence to the Philippines.

It has been, however, the main line of development, as well as one of the most distinctive and successful features of the American experiment in government. The publication, therefore, by the Department of State of the documents relating to the formation and government of the twenty-eight territories from which states have been formed, a project promoted by the American Historical Association and other historical agencies, is a great boon to the historically minded. It is, also, a measure of economy; in the case of perhaps a majority of the documents the one publication will serve the interests of several states which would otherwise multiply the printings. The initial volumes of the series, the total number of which is not yet revealed, are therefore of very great interest.

Volume I, in preliminary printing, carries a short introduction to the series, a chronological list of territories, and a list of territorial officials, 1789-1872. It is to be published in final form upon the completion of the series and will then contain a list of the territorial officials down to 1912, papers of a general character, and a bibliography of sources. Volumes II and III cover the Northwest Territory; the former from 1787 to 1798 inclusive; the latter from 1799 to November 22, 1802, in its shorter documents, and from 1788 to July 4, 1802, in the Executive Journal, which is printed as a unit at the end of the volume and which is the only important deviation here from the proposed chronological arrangement of the papers of each territory. Each volume has a detailed and satisfying index.

The Act of March 2, 1925, authorizing the series, made papers listed in David W. Parker's *Calendar of Papers in Washington Archives relating to the Territories of the United States (to 1873)* the nucleus of the collection. Dr. Newton D. Mereness, who from 1926 to 1928 collected and copied documents for the series, copied 8505 of the 9047 papers listed by Parker (for the twenty-eight territories)—he could not locate 164—and copied nearly 4000 not listed. Dr. Carter, appointed editor in June, 1931, has used much material found in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Ohio State Library, and elsewhere, as well as additional papers found in Washington. In grouping papers, except those of a general character, under the several territories, he departs from the *Calendar,* and he omits many titles listed there.

In the selection of papers to be printed the choice has fallen mainly, as in Parker's *Calendar,* upon those dealing with administrative matters. Among these, however, and among territorial laws, judicial decisions, and Indian, military, and diplomatic affairs, Dr. Carter has chosen the generous, and by far the most difficult course, of adopting no inflexible formula, but of selecting those papers which from varying considerations seem to him to be of the greatest value. Thus, while as a general rule papers heretofore published are omitted, some of them have been included as of fundamental importance, others on the ground that they had been printed

defectively (Dr. Carter pays scant courtesy to William Henry Smith's *St. Clair Papers*) or in editions now inaccessible. While no two persons would agree in their selection of papers or even in the principles by which the selection is made, it is evident that the papers of the Northwest Territory have been selected very judiciously, and there are ample references to relevant documents not included.

Dr. Carter has spared no pains in going to the original manuscript as the final authority, even in United States statutes. He has noted the controversy between Governor Arthur St. Clair and the judges which resulted from the omission in the official printing of the Ordinance of 1787 of the comma in the manuscript journal of the Continental Congress in the sentence "The governor, and judges or a majority of them shall adopt and publish in the district such laws", etc. (II, 42, n. 14). The reader can be as certain as is possible that in the *Territorial Papers* he has an accurate rendering of the original. That alone would amply justify the publication.

The editorial apparatus, also, is excellent. One seldom wishes for a cross reference which is not given, and references both to matters touched upon in the text and to those not covered by documents (such as St. Clair's and Wayne's Indian campaigns) assume the proportion of bibliographies. Biographical notes seem scanty, but nearly all persons mentioned are sufficiently identified. The format of the volumes published in permanent form is in refreshing contrast to that of many earlier government publications. The pages are not crowded, and the full size type makes easy reading.

The recently recovered Journal of Executive Proceedings, 1788-1803, printed in full (III, 263-535), is the most important addition of new material upon the Northwest Territory. Edmund Randolph, attorney general, in transmitting a section of the Journal for 1794 to Washington, wrote "It is very little more, than a history of bickerings and discontents, which do not require the attention of the President" (II, 472-473). The very quality thus harshly labeled reflects faithfully the friction and the difficulty of the experiment in territorial government. But the Journal contains much more than that; its record of commissions, licenses, executive orders, letters, and addresses is invaluable. Secretary Winthrop Sargent (1787-1798) made a much fuller record than William Henry Harrison (1798-1799); Charles Willing Byrd (1799-1803), bitter Republican enemy of Federalist St. Clair, gave the briefest possible record of commissions, writs, and proclamations—which is in conformity to the dwindling prestige and the final eclipse of the first of the territorial governors.

To the difficulties in the way of orderly development presented by the hostility of the Indians, the interminable forest, vast distances, intrusive settlements, conflicting and fraudulent land titles, and unhealthful conditions of life were added incessant quarrels between the governor and the judges and frequent, lengthy absences of most of them from the territory.

In 1798 the harassed Sargent computes St. Clair's absences as more than five and a half years out of less than nine (II, 647-648). The character of some of the men who had to be depended upon is referred to by Sargent with unwonted humor: "La Chase is a very sad Dog . . . capable & willing of mischief . . . [Ducoine] is a monstrous beggarly rascal even for an Indian and an Arrent Paltroon—Knowing thus much of those Characters I thought it incumbent on me Officially & confidentially to mention it to you for they are all my very *good Friends* . . ." (II, 413).

Well-selected documents show strenuous but futile efforts to maintain peace with the Indians, the trials and progress of land surveys and sales, and the establishment of postal service, as well as the organization of territorial and local government. St. Clair's earlier letters to Washington well illustrate how little the founders of the government realized the character, significance, and possibilities of the Western movement. The succeeding documents on the whole give a drab picture of a slow formation of great commonwealths out of French settlements at first in a state of "complete dormation", and out of all too turbulent groups of Americans—land speculators, frontiersmen, and farmers. These papers are important sources for historians who are working toward an accurate account of the development of the Middle West and of the American system of government. Though the casual reader may not appreciate it, they are equally valuable as a first-hand authentic record which, if studied carefully, will give citizens of the Old Northwest an understanding of the foundations of their states.

Errors noted, either of printing or of editing, are extraordinarily rare, and insignificant. The impossible boundary of the Vincennes tract (II, 106) should either be noted or, if possible, be supplemented with correction. The river de la Panse (II, 231, 444) does not appear on any of the modern maps: it is Wildcat Creek, Indiana.

Volume IV of the Territorial Papers dealing with the Southwest Territory is expected from the press during the present fiscal year. Volumes V and VI, Mississippi Territory, and Volume VII, Indiana Territory, have been completed and it is hoped that appropriations for their publication in 1936-1937 will be forthcoming. The excellence of the volumes upon the Northwest Territory, as well as their timeliness for the sesquicentennial of the creation of the territory, augurs well for the value and the reception of the whole series.

State Historical Bureau, Indianapolis. CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN.

The United States, 1830–1850: the Nation and its Sections. By FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. With an Introduction by Avery Craven. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1935. Pp. xiv, 602. $4.50.)

PROBABLY no other book on American history has been so long and so eagerly awaited as this. Nearly thirty years ago the history guild learned

that Professor Turner's conscience had begun to prod him toward a work on this period, but until close to the end of his university career his own catholicity of interest, and the insistent demands of a notable procession of graduate students, held him back. Even then, although somewhat embarrassed by the realization that his reputation had far outrun his authorship, he refused to be hurried, and his publishers had to live down as best they could at least one premature announcement. As Professor Craven so aptly points out, Turner "disliked to find his researches halted and his ideas crystallized by publication. . . . A mind too keen for finality, a spirit too eager for cold print, a pioneer pressing ever outward beyond established trails—he found it hard to reach the end of his writing. In such a case incompleteness is not a weakness." When he died in 1932 at least one chapter that he had planned was unwritten, another was only half done, and the manuscript as a whole conspicuously lacked the thorough revision he had intended to give it.

The editors, with better judgment than editors sometimes display, have printed Turner's text exactly as they found it, except for the correction of obvious slips. Some will say—have said—that the book might still better not have been published at all. The reviewer does not share this opinion. Probably this volume, because of its incompleteness and its lack of finish, will not take rank as Turner's greatest, but it would have been a pity if for this reason alone its unique pattern, its numerous shrewd interpretations, and its brilliant thumbnail character sketches had never been made available. There is enough of Turner at his best about it that his reputation will not suffer.

The plan of the book is indicated by its subtitle, although "Sections and Nation" might possibly have been more exact. Well over half the pages are devoted to separate studies of the six major sections (New England, Middle Atlantic States, South Atlantic States, South Central States, North Central States, Texas and the Far West) that made up the United States of 1830 to 1850. Each of these chapters is a complete unit in itself that would lose little, if anything, by separate publication. Whatever might contribute to an understanding of the peculiar personality of a section—geography, population elements, economic conditions, politics and political leadership, social and intellectual life—is faithfully woven into the picture. Turner's own "Middle West", or, according to the census takers, the "North Central States", receives nearly twice the space given to any other section, and is more convincingly portrayed than any other. But the sections all stand out. Sometimes in a single striking sentence the author brings the whole panorama into focus. Of the Southwest, for example, he writes: "Emerging from frontier conditions, its climate reflected in the hot blood of its sons, sensitive to insult or restraint, eager for expansion, it was a section of direct and passionate action" (p. 245).

With the individual sections disposed of, the author turns to the far

more difficult task of depicting the interplay of sectional forces in the arena of national politics. One by one the administrations pass in review—Jackson's, Van Buren's, Tyler's, Polk's, and the unwritten chapter would have been on Taylor's. Little of national significance that happened during these eventful years is overlooked, but such matters as congressional enactments and presidential elections, for which maps and statistics could be produced that would reveal sectional lines of cleavage, receive elaborate treatment. Such a method seems simple enough, but in actual application it turns out to be extremely complicated. The sections were so numerous, and themselves in turn so full of intrasectional differences, that their interplay produced almost kaleidoscopic shifts of national behavior. About the only certainty was the necessity of compromise, whether within the various parties or within the halls of Congress. Painstakingly, analytically, the author threads his way through the maze without resort to oversimplification. He has little time for heroics or for literary overtones; condenses such an event as the Mexican War, once he has set the stage for it, into a few pages; takes for granted generally that his readers know their way about in the history of the period. The novice undoubtedly will be bewildered.

A book without maps would be alike unfair to the memory and the method of a man who made and used maps interminably. As a young instructor, indeed, Turner anticipated the recent emphasis upon cross-fertilization by taking a course in physiography with the late Professor Charles R. Van Hise. In this volume the editors present a total of thirty-three maps and charts just as Turner left them, "sometimes rather crudely drawn". A few of the maps should certainly have been redrafted, and many of them have been made too small to be useful, but they show clearly enough the author's comprehension of the physiographic basis of American sectionalism, and his predilection for the county rather than the state as a unit of visual representation.

There will be many who will find much to criticize about this book. The most obvious charge is that it presents few startlingly new facts or interpretations. A study of the footnotes, however, helps to explain why. No man ever gave more of himself through his students than did Turner. Moreover Turner, the essayist, has at nearly every point anticipated Turner, the formal historian. Orthodox Marxians will not like the book, for it consistently ignores their chief theological tenet—the class struggle. Problem-solvers, whose ideal is to separate out from the past only such things as are of use to this particular present, will resent the wealth of what in their opinion is only irrelevant detail. Belligerent Turnerians, who see in Turner's frontier philosophy the complete key to American history that Turner himself never claimed for it, will be disappointed that their leader refused to take up the cudgels in his own behalf. They can take

some comfort, however, in his courteous demolition (pp. 35-37) of Channing's interpretation of the election of 1828; and the more literal-minded should be pleased at his description of the Middle West as a "mixing bowl" rather than a "melting pot" for the various population elements it accumulated (p. 286).

To the reviewer the persistence of the dispute between Turnerians and anti-Turnerians is an unhappy omen. It seems truly unfortunate that promising young scholars can think of no better way to make reputations for themselves than by attacking or defending the views of someone else, however great he may be. The difference between the contenders is after all not very great. Only the most obstinate of the "antis" will deny that there has been a certain uniqueness in the history of the United States that is traceable to the frontier and to the sections that followed in its wake. And only the most obstinate of the "pros" will insist that the frontier and sectional factors alone explain the course of American development. Whether the frontier heritage will permanently affect our national character, as Professor Turner thought, or not, is for the present quite beside the point. The historian of the far distant future will have to take care of that. Instead of the continual flow of argument, which in its aridity is fast approaching the worst that the scholastics ever did, both "pros" and "antis" might better join hands in a new attack on the sources, and make a new venture into the realm of interpretation. Several momentous years have gone by since the passing of Professor Turner, and many more since he first made known his principal views. The present generation, if it will open its eyes, may enjoy a perspective on the past that Turner and the men of his day never knew. It is high time that it should begin to make the most of its opportunity.

The University of Wisconsin. JOHN D. HICKS.

The Oregon Crusade: across Land and Sea to Oregon. Edited, with Bibliographical Résumé, 1830–1840, by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT and DOROTHY PRINTUP HULBERT. [Overland to the Pacific, Volume V.] (Published by the Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library. 1935. Pp. xvi, 301. $5.00.)

The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives. Edited by PHILIP ASHTON ROLLINS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1935. Pp. cxxxvii, 391. $7.50.)

THE *Oregon Crusade* represents the lengthened shadow of the late Archer Butler Hulbert. He had assembled the material for it and other volumes constituting what is called "the second half" of the series Overland to the Pacific. "The manuscript prepared by the General Editor", says Dorothy P. Hulbert, "has been rearranged only in minor details."

The statement is somewhat reassuring, and yet one is surprised that Mr. Hulbert himself should have devoted eighty-four of the 291 pages of text to the record of the resultless Hawaiian-Oregon contacts and the hectic but futile missionary exploring voyage of J. S. Green when genuinely explanatory documents could have been substituted. One may concede that the Hawaiian letters, as printed in Eastern missionary journals, contributed somewhat to the interest in the tribes of the Pacific Northwest, but it is certain that neither they nor the Green report influenced the policy of the A. B. C. F. M. Jonathan Green, the editors concede, was sent out on the assumption that a "Plymouth colony" might be established at or near the mouth of the Columbia which would form the moral support of a mission. But Green was disappointed in his hope of touching at the Columbia, and his hastily snatched bits of information about Alaska Indians and Indians of Queen Charlotte's Island were inferior to what had long been known from navigators and traders.

The true background for the Oregon missions, it would seem, is neither the Hawaiian center nor the spasmodic missionary interest in the Columbia. The coming of the "Wise-Men-from-the-West" was merely the incitement to begin missions west of the Rockies, as the editors admit. The determining argument did not originate in Hawaii or in Green's report. It had developed gradually out of the experience of Indian missionaries east of the Rockies and the Mississippi which proved the futility of trying to save Indians after white men came in habitual contact with them. Samuel Parker struck the true note in the letter to the Board of May 17, 1833 (p. 222): "But somebody must go, and that field [Oregon] must be brought under the influence of the Gospel before it is brought under the influence of emigrants, and such emigrants as commonly go into new countries." In this he accords with Morse, McCoy, and all others who were intelligently concerned for the fate of the red race.

The documents from page eighty-five to 291 are all germane to the theory of an Oregon Crusade, and some of them, particularly those extracted from the manuscript records of the A. B. C. F. M. had not heretofore been presented in their completeness. The book sets this portion of the Oregon story in its true light and merits high praise as a source of study. We think Mrs. Hulbert has done the detailed editing ably, though a few errors, of which the phrase "each up" for "cach up", i.e., "catch up", p. 148, is the type, bear saddening testimony to the absence of the master's hand. The volume contains as frontispiece the Old Oregon Mission; it has a picture of Jason Lee and of Flathead Indians. There are two maps and a restricted index.

Students of Far West history have been waiting for Robert Stuart's journal. Known popularly since the appearance in 1836 of Irving's Astoria,

the journal has circulated to a limited extent in the form of copies seen by a few historians. Fortunately, it has found in Philip Ashton Rollins an able and devoted editor and in Scribner a publisher who appreciated that it deserved to be brought out in a dignified edition. It is here beautifully printed, supported and enriched with supplemental Stuart entries, is carefully annotated, and illustrated with maps. There is also a portrait of Robert Stuart and a biographical sketch, together with shorter notes on his companions of the journey. There are two appendixes. The first, covering pages 265 to 328, embraces translations from *Nouvelles annales des voyages de la géographie et de l'histoire* (Paris, 1821), an account of the *Tonquin's* voyage and events at Fort Astoria in 1811-1812, and Wilson Price Hunt's diary of his overland trip westward to Astoria in 1811-1812. The second, on Indian tribes mentioned by Stuart, covers pages 329-364. The index appears to be adequate.

It will be at once apparent that we have in this volume large parts of the documentary basis of Irving's celebrated book written, as he tells us, with the aid of materials supplied by John Jacob Astor and at Astor's suggestion; probably also under the fur magnate's direct patronage. The early publication of portions of this material in Paris is no doubt owing to the circumstance that Albert Gallatin, American minister at the French court, was one of Astor's social and business intimates.

The reader of Stuart's historic journal of the trip eastward from Astoria to St. Louis, in 1812-1813, would like to see cleared up the history of the document itself, from the time it was placed in President Madison's hand, in 1813, until its publication. Was the original carefully preserved by Astor and the Travelling Memoranda given to Madison—or the reverse? Did Madison send his copy to Jefferson as Astor suggested he might do? How did it come into the custody of Mr. Coe?

The main outline of Stuart's journey, together with the hardships and dangers it entailed, has been fairly clear since Irving wrote. Still, the actual text, with the editor's careful geographical notes, settles numerous minor points. Chittenden's conclusion that the party missed South Pass is hardly tenable in view of the evidence here presented. And Ghent's query as to whether they followed the line of the later Oregon Trail along the Platte is answered: they were sometimes on the northern and sometimes on the southern side of the river. Obviously, it was only the absence of an active public interest in a road across the Rockies which explains the neglect of Stuart's account of such a road, published in a number of newspapers. When Smith, Jackson, and Sublette reported their use of it in 1830, public interest was active and seized upon it. Stuart had actually found a "road to Oregon" by veering south from both the Lewis and Clark trail and the Hunt trail. His journal is the proof of that signifi-

cant achievement, and the book containing it should take its place as one of the classics of the Overland trail.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. JOSEPH SCHAFER.

The Gentleman from New York: a Life of Roscoe Conkling. By DONALD BARR CHIDSEY. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1935. Pp. viii, 438. $3.75.)

ROSCOE Conkling left no private papers but he played so conspicuous a part in the political life of the Civil War and Reconstruction periods that there is a mass of official, personal, and anecdotal material about him out of which it ought not to be difficult to frame a reasonably full biography. While his personality and methods stirred antagonisms and hatreds that have passed into history, he was always credited with high intellectual ability and has been called one of the three or four greatest trial lawyers of his day. Any man who played a dominating part in the Senate and the Republican party and whose political control over New York presented such striking features is well worth study as a historical figure.

It is apparently with some such purpose that Mr. Chidsey prepared the volume entitled *The Gentleman from New York,* but the form in which he has chosen to present his findings is such as to defeat any such intention. He has put together the material he has collected in what journalists call a "story", intended primarily to divert and to fit the literary mood of the moment. This happens to be an offshoot of the Strachean technique known as "the hardboiled" in which the cool impertinence and irony of the prototype are replaced by a sort of contemptuous smoking-room cynicism which spares nobody, the subject of the biography least of all. Mr. Chidsey has done this very well. He has produced a hustling narrative in a brisk colloquial style, peppered with personalities and rather highly seasoned with gossip and anecdotes. The reviewer read the book from cover to cover with a genuine curiosity to see how he would treat the successive episodes, and can testify that it is a successful specimen of its kind.

Considered, however, as biography or history the book has practically nothing to tell us that is not better done in a dozen places. Conkling is treated entirely from the outside in the character of a stage villain. He is termed "a political crook, a domineering, thundering, bluffing boss, a bully, a tyrant". We are told that he could argue well, but we are never allowed to forget his appearance, his clothes, his manner. Not the slightest effort is made to account for his characteristics. Contemporary figures if themselves "hardboiled"—such as Stevens, or Blaine—are treated kindly. Others are laughed at. Sumner appears as a pompous fool, Greeley an eccentric one, Garfield a good-natured one. Hayes is "vaguely ludicrous". Mrs. Hayes appears always as "Lemonade Lucy", and so on. To discuss

the author's use of sources and quotations, or to question his judgments would be a waste of time, for his aim is not an authentic narrative but a lively "story" and he substitutes "wisecracks" for reasoned conclusions. While the book uses the bibliographies and footnotes usually associated with serious monographs it contains no trace of a critical or historical spirit. Conkling is not an attractive figure, but even Conkling deserves fair treatment and justice. In this book he gets neither.

Williams College. THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Road to War: America 1914–1917. By WALTER MILLIS. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1935. Pp. ix, 466. $3.00.)

THIS is the first account of America's entrance into the World War to reach a large audience since the subsidence of passion and the publication of source material made possible a sane analysis of the subject. The book went to the members of the Book of the Month Club when it was published in May, 1935; four months later it was just disappearing from the "best seller" lists. What impression is this audience likely to carry away? Probably many will echo the student who told me "it's a great book; Millis debunks everybody". Wilson's jaw and Roosevelt's teeth; Colonel House wandering about Europe, "innocence in a den of suspicious gangsters"; in July, 1914, Page prattling about "the quaint habits of the British aristocracy", and Whitlock "at work, in his summer home outside of Brussels, upon a new novel of rural life in Ohio"; Bryan absent-mindedly carrying the caged squirrel which someone had thrust in his hands as he boarded the Peace Ship; the Allied statesmen who, to serve as foils for these fools and dupes, are always astute, or adroit, or deft—at first sight it might seem Millis's intention to assemble a gallery of freaks from what he calls "those grotesque years". Undoubtedly this was not his intention. Underlying his book is a conviction of "the profound futility and irrelevance of force" and the belief that "war is murder" (pp. 170, 180). American leaders who preached the Great Crusade proceeded on other assumptions which must seem stupid or vicious to the pacifist, and which, in the light of subsequent history, can be made to seem silly to almost everyone. Millis has taken vengeance on those who jeered at the Peace Ship. As retribution, his book is a brilliant success; the reputation of his victims will long show the marks of his remorseless, often outrageous, irony. That many readers will be converted to pacifism by this method of argument, that many will even see the purpose which inspired these attacks, is more dubious.

Why did the people of the United States enter the war? The reader will search in vain for a clear answer to this question. Millis seems more than half-convinced that the masses were never for war; they were dragged in by "embattled editors" and by the upper classes in general. The sequence, as seen by Millis, was as follows: ignorance and traditional sympathy made

the "best minds" of America pro-Ally from the outset; emotional partnership led to economic partnership; economic alliance led to military alliance. He explains the initial bias in favor of the Allies by the fact that "London was not only the cultural and social capital of our wealthier and more influential classes; so far as European events were concerned it was our newspaper capital as well" (p. 42). By the time Mr. Wilson issued his neutrality proclamation, "the nation was already so overwhelmingly partisan toward the Allies that only the German sympathizers seemed to be partisan" (p. 58). Since those in power "could not bring themselves to contemplate a German victory", they were debarred from effective protest against the illegal methods by which the British choked American trade with the Central Powers (p. 89). Rapidly, American prosperity became dependent on orders from one group of belligerents. The Anglo-French loan of 1915 merely completed the process by which American and Allied economic life "were for the purposes of the war made one; each was now entangled irrevocably in the fate of the other. . . . Our neutrality was at an end. After that, our actual military participation was largely a question of chance" (p. 221). Emotion and economic interest prevented Americans from seeing the justice of the German contention that if the illegal use of the submarine was to be stopped, the illegal strangulation of the Central Powers by the Allied blockade must also be stopped. In 1916, Mr. Wilson perceived that the partnership with the Allies was heading the United States straight into war, because the Germans were losing hope that America would force the Allies to respect neutral rights. By that date it was too late to break the economic alliance with the Entente. Peace in Europe was his only hope. He tried desperately and, once he had freed himself from the baneful influence of Colonel House, skillfully, to end the war. For that also, it was too late. America was forced to become a military partner of the Allies because she had too long been a spiritual and economic partner. "None quite knew how it had happened, nor why, nor what precisely it might mean" (p. 460), least of all the common man, who, in the campaign of 1916 had shown "the true depth and power of the pacifist sentiment in the country—so long obscured by the outpourings of the editorial warhawks or the romantic patriotism of the upper classes" (p. 319).

Such is the main theme of the book. It is developed with sustained wit and imagination which at times rises to greatness. The analysis of public opinion and propaganda, for instance (chs. II and III), is certainly better than any other of its length and in some respects goes beyond earlier studies. But at times other themes, half-developed and discordant, break in. Occasionally we are reminded of "the fascination that war irresistibly exerts" on all classes. "Too long a strange, haunting feeling had been growing that the United States was missing something" (p. 283). This feeling we can all remember; Millis, possibly conscious of the discord, only lightly

suggests its importance. Again, he suggests that the war in Europe only hurried a change in American life which was in process before 1914. "Preparedness", he points out, was advocated before 1914, and had its origin in "the new demand of American industrialism for armament orders at home, for the opportunities of foreign markets and foreign adventure, for the disciplines of military patriotism to preserve the social structure against its developing internal strains and stiffen it to support the world competitive struggle" (p. 94). One would exchange a score or so of pages on the wily Briton and the simple American for a reconciliation of this statement with any hope for the triumph of pacifism. However, the 60,000 men and women who have bought this book have been given enough—a too well disguised pacifist tract, a biased diplomatic history which will probably do not more than correct earlier no less biased views, a good introduction to the study of public opinion, and above all, a very timely reminder of the hazards of neutrality.

Princeton University. R. J. SONTAG.

American Foreign Policy in the Post-War Years. By FRANK H. SIMONDS, Litt. D. [Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1935, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1935. Pp. 160. $2.00.)

THIS is an interpretation, by the most eminent of American journalists in the field of foreign affairs, of the deficiencies and ineptitudes of American foreign policy in the postwar period. Every academic person will do well to take heavy counsel from so perspicuous an analysis of the relation of the United States to the agitated world of today. The scholar should not quarrel with the author for a few careless and inaccurate historical allusions; he should fix his thought on the main arguments of the lectures, which ought to be read by every citizen thoughtful of foreign problems.

The argument is twofold, political and economic. Politically, the author clearly sees, from the vantage point of fifteen years' history of the League of Nations, during which years the great powers have shown themselves unwilling to make sacrifices of lives and treasure in order to sanction the collective system when their own vital interests are not immediately concerned, that until they prove themselves willing to make these sacrifices the United States will not serve the cause of peace, not to mention other interests of its own, by joining the League, or even the Court. The reviewer, long a champion of American entry into the League, with broad reservations, finds himself unable to resist the arguments of Mr. Simonds in these lectures, and elsewhere, when coupled with the events of the past five years including the rise of the dictatorship. He is forced to the conclusion that it is lucky the United States did not join. He cannot, however, agree that the people of the United States decided against the League in any clear-cut way in the

election of 1920, notwithstanding the fact that neither great political party in the United States has dared to support entry into the League since.

The economic argument is that it is impossible for the United States to play the role of a creditor nation given the inveterate political demand of both parties for protection. Admitting the whole sorry picture of descent by foreign repudiation and domestic devaluation from a balance of credits abroad of $14,000,000,000, in 1930, to $4,000,000,000 now—40 per cent of which was thrown away by the devaluation of the dollar—more will be inclined to debate the author's thesis here than to challenge his political views. This thesis is that as long as the politics of American democracy continues it is impossible to alter the protective system, the true formula for prosperity therefore is protection and national self-sufficiency.

The author urges this foreign policy for the future: for peace, arbitration; for security, naval parity, including parity for Japan; for armaments, limitation; for the Far East, withdrawal of all active policy, including recognition of Japan's established position there. Mr. Simonds thus thinks a tripartite naval parity adequate for protection of American continental security. The question which has arisen in at least one reader's mind is: Suppose the Philippines are attacked before we are able ten years hence to cut them completely loose?

Yale University. SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

SHORTER NOTICES

The Geographic Pattern of Mankind. By John E. Pomfret, Princeton University. [The Century Earth Science Series, Kirtley F. Mather, Editor.] (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1935, pp. xv, 442, $4.00.) This volume is indirectly the outgrowth of Professor Pomfret's introductory survey course in social science at Princeton University. In the opening chapter on "Human Geography and Culture" he explains the philosophy of geography which characterizes the book. According to this philosophy "The chief interest, therefore, in the study of human geography lies in the manner of man's adjustment to the physical environment, not in the elements of that environment" (p. 4). The theme is carried consistently through the book. The author places much weight upon geographical influences, but does not accept geographical determinism.

Chapter II deals with the elements of mathematical geography and chapters III and IV with the elements of climate. Chapters V to XV treat various important regions of the earth, giving a strong emphasis to climatic factors. South America is treated as a whole and rather full chapters are given to the United States and to Western Europe. The choice of geographical regions for treatment is good and the topics selected within the chapters are topics that have a general appeal. The illustrations are limited to thirty-six drawings, the greater part of which have to do with climate. There are

no photographs, economic graphs, distribution charts, or colored maps. Whether or not the usefulness of the work as a textbook is lessened by this paucity of illustrations is a matter of opinion.

Even a long-experienced and ultra-careful geographer could not expect to eliminate all factual errors from a book. Professor Pomfret's book does not contain an unpardonable number of such errors, considering the thousands of factual statements. The plan of organization is new and its strongly regional character will meet with approval.

The University of Wisconsin. R. H. Whitbeck.

Raumüberwindende Mächte. Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Haushofer, Professor an der Universität München. [Macht und Erde, Band III.] (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1934, pp. vii, 359, 10.80 M., $2.50.) This is the final volume of the series Macht und Erde edited by Professor Haushofer with the help of a corps of collaborators. Volume I, *Die Grossmächte vor und nach dem Weltkriege,* now in its third edition, is Haushofer's revision of the earlier *Grossmächte* of Rudolf Kjellén which reached a twenty-fourth edition in 1934. Volume II, *Jenseits der Grossmächte,* supplementary to the first, appeared in 1931 under the editorship of Professor Haushofer aided by twelve other scholars, and was designed as a comprehensive guide through the maze of international politics and diplomacy. Thus the two volumes form a sort of German manual of *Geopolitik* of today, and furnish a basis for a future German foreign policy, since both are rooted in German experience.

The volume under review, based on the recent work in anthropo- and biogeography of such writers as Ratzel, Maull, Penck, and their like, is a world-scale type of investigation so dear to German scholars. In such a category we need only mention Spengler, whose first volume had reached a sixty-fifth German edition by 1929, Frobenius, Hassinger, and Ratzel. It forms a conclusion to the preceding volumes, as it attempts to answer certain criticisms of them and to make clearer geopolitical questions of law and statesmancraft. It likewise grew out of the World War, and is primarily intended for the German people to help them to forestall a repetition of their disaster.

After general introductory chapters on the "Earth as a Living Space", "Man in the Space", "State, Space, and Self-Determination", the succeeding eight essays by well-known scholars are discussions of the great "space-conquering powers" or agencies which in the past have dominated different areas of the earth. Such "powers" are spheres of culture, world religions (one of the most interesting chapters with valuable statistics by the Viennese scholar Oberhummer), space and world concepts, international movements, language, economics, space and conquest, colonial expansion, and right of determination.

The book contains sixty-three explanatory sketch-maps and other graphic

representations and a bibliography of works overwhelmingly German (pp. 353-359), but no index nor analytical chapter headings. Despite faults of style, long and involved sentences and recent compounds, it is an excellent review of the various historical problems raised. As was said of the *Grossmächte* of Kjellén, the three works in the series may be said to form a sort of "Bibel der Geopolitik".

The University of Pennsylvania. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE.

Des prophètes à Jésus. Tome I, *Les prophètes d'Israël et les débuts du Judaïsme.* Par Adolphe Lods, professeur à la Sorbonne. Tome II, *Le monde juif vers le temps de Jésus.* Par Ch. Guignebert, professeur d'histoire du christianisme à la Sorbonne. [L'évolution de l'humanité.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1935, pp. xx, 434; xvi, 367, 40 fr. each.) In an earlier volume, *Israël* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI, 789), M. Lods traced the formation of the nation Israel and its history to the time of the eighth century prophets. In the volume under review he continues the history to the end of the Greek period, thus giving us an account of the work of the prophets, of the birth of Judaism, and the composition of the Old Testament books. For each period he first gives a historical outline as a background, then sketches the personalities and the writings of the chief actors, and presents a summary of the ruling ideas. He exhibits wide familiarity with the literature of his subject, and displays excellent historical judgment. His analysis of the psychology of the prophets is acute, sympathetic, and illuminating. His treatment of the thorny problem of Josiah's reform and the date of the Deuteronomic Law is sane and scholarly. He is not led away by the arguments of Steuernagle, Hölscher, or Welch. He presents the generally accepted view of the person of Ezekiel and holds that his book is a sixth century product, although he is acquainted with Torrey's contention that the book is a pseudepigraph. He holds to the prevailing view of the Second Isaiah, following here the lead of Duhm, although to the mind of the reviewer, Torrey has refuted Duhm's argument and presented a more probable hypothesis. Lods mentions Torrey's *Second Isaiah* in his bibliography, but does not refer to it in his text. He dates the book of Habakkuk between 555 and 549 B.C., thus adding another to the many readings of its enigma. Though in some few points the reviewer would differ from his conclusions, Lods's volume deserves a wider reading than it is likely to obtain from American readers.

The second volume by Guignebert is a masterly treatment in brief compass of a complex subject. Though not as exhaustive, it is worthy to stand beside the work of Schürer, Hausrath, and Bousset. In some respects the author has explored new fields and presents his conclusions clearly and attractively. It is a worthy addition to the series.

The University of Pennsylvania. GEORGE A. BARTON.

The Memoranda Roll of the King's Remembrancer for Michaelmas, 1230-Trinity, 1231 (E. 159. 10). Now first printed from the Original in the Custody of the Right Hon. The Master of the Rolls. Edited by Chalfant Robinson, Curator of Mediaeval History, Princeton University. [Pipe Roll Society, New Series, Vol. XI.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1933, pp. xliv, 135, $10.00.) It is not often that we are able to welcome the appearance in print of a new type of medieval record, to this class the *Memoranda Roll* belongs. Those who are interested in medieval administrative processes will find in it much information despite the fact that it is but a slender ancestor of the bulky rolls of the fourteenth century. It lacks the later careful classification of contents, and deals with fewer transactions, yet, used in connection with the Pipe Roll edited in 1927 by Dr. Robinson, it makes it possible to understand many of the bald entries on the more famous series of records and to elucidate many phases of the activities of the exchequer. Either roll, taken by itself, gives incomplete information about the methods of the exchequer.

The introduction covers much ground and contains a considerable amount of comment upon the content of the roll. It, however, fails in some particulars of being thoroughly satisfactory. For example, the statement that "It is this recording in the Roll of writs under the Great Seal that characterizes the Roll of the King's Remembrancer" (p. xxxii) may be questioned if it is to apply to the reign of Henry III, for a considerable number of such writs were enrolled by the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer before the reforms of the reign of Edward II. The marshal was hardly "the custodian of the prisons and of prisoners turned over to him by the Sheriff for debt" (p. xxx). Were there several prisons? And, were not the prisoners handed over to him by the exchequer? *Super arreragia* surely was not "either identical with the *view,* or was a formal part of it" (p. xli); the passages cited indicate that the sheriff was directed to pay the arrears of his debt on a day set. The octave was the eighth day after a feast, including the day of the feast, not the ninth day as on pages xxxiv and xxxvi. The value of the roll itself is, however, very real and we owe Dr. Robinson a debt of gratitude for transcribing it and for making its publication by the Pipe Roll Society possible.

J. F. W.

L'élaboration du monde moderne. Par Joseph Calmette, professeur à la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Toulouse. Avant-Propos de S. Charléty, recteur de l'Université de Paris. ["Clio": Introduction aux études historiques, 5.] (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1934, pp. xxxii, 584, 40 fr.) Professor Calmette's volume deals with the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern period. It is one of the series, "Clio", Introduction aux Études historiques, edited by S. Charléty.

Professor Calmette also contributed the preceding volume, *Le monde féodal*. One must understand the purpose of the series in order to appreciate the nature of this volume. "Clio" is, in reality, a set of textbook manuals rather than a general history. Fully as much material is devoted to bibliography and criticism as to narration. The work before us contains a classified general bibliography, and each of the chapters is supplemented by "Notes" describing the sources and secondary works and presenting a critical discussion of problems that still plague the scholar. For example, the "Notes" contain an essay of four thousand words upon the historiography of Jeanne d'Arc. Hardly more are devoted to the treatment of her exploits in the text. The editor's instructions are faithfully followed: providing the novitiate with a survey of the field, and, in addition, furnishing him with an orderly approach to the historical literature underlying the account. While one hesitates to advise our textbook writers to go so far, yet, with the astonishing output of monographs, each purporting to supplement our understanding, there arises the necessity of some instruction in these matters. Certainly a critical estimate of the historical literature might excite the student's curiosity far more than the perfunctory "list of references" that accompanies some of our best textbooks.

Most of the materials of this survey are concerned with the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. A centrum is provided by France, England, Germany, Italy, the Empire, and the Papacy. But the geographical horizons are much more extensive than one generally encounters in a work upon this period. The disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the commercial interest of the West in the eastern Mediterranean necessitates the introduction of subjects such as the varying fortunes of the Paleologues, the anarchy in Greece, and the rise of Cyprus. The pressure of Asiatic hordes paves the way for the author's treatment of Mongol and Turk, while the prospect of greater contact with the Far East furnishes the impetus for his consideration of India, China, and other areas of the same region. A studied comparison of the civilizations of the West and the East adds to the usefulness of the volume.

Princeton University. J. E. Pomfret.

Money, the Human Conflict: a Survey of Monetary Experience. By Elgin Groseclose. Foreword by George W. Edwards. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1934, pp. ix, 304, $3.25.) Most recent volumes on finance aim to air the authors' plans for preventing another depression. The volume under review is modest. His experiences as United States assistant trade commissioner, editorial associate of *Fortune*, analyst for the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, and teacher of economics and business courses at the College of the City of New York and the University of Oklahoma have given Mr. Groseclose a certain faith in history. Em-

ploying terms somewhat reminiscent of heated debates over the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Social Studies, he sagely observes: "The future is but the projection of the past, and we may no more disregard the experience of history than a line can escape the point of which it is the projection. . . . Nevertheless, it is possible to shift the direction of a line by changing the point of reference, and it is possible to shift the course of history by setting out new stakes of policy and attitude" (p. 267).

In this belief he devotes ninety-five per cent of his space to a survey of world economic catastrophes and allots merely fourteen pages to his own prescription, writing for the general reader unfamiliar with monetary history. He relates how depreciation of the monetary medium has been well-nigh a chronic tendency through the centuries. From the time of America's discovery and the influx of its treasure into Europe, Mr. Groseclose dates the destruction of whatever monetary morality had been accumulated. Thence developed dual devices whereby public purchasing power was unduly expanded by the use of paper money and private purchasing power by commercial credit. Modern mechanisms for multiplying money while lessening its value flowered early in John Law's great experiment of 1719-1720, when fifteen short months witnessed twenty-eight changes in the value of gold and thirty-five in that of silver. The Nineteenth Century groped for monetary stabilization through a world gold standard, but by misuse of bank money, an uncontrolled checking system in the United States with poorly controlled deposit credit systems in both Europe and America, civilized mankind issued mortgages on the Twenty-first Century on which they defaulted in the Twentieth.

For all this, Groseclose frequently blames perverse human greed, but he is left with optimism enough to believe that a major operation on the monetary system (and human nature?) could be performed. He thinks consent could be obtained, for example, to restriction of checking and demand deposit institutions to a warehouse role, besides restoring gold to circulation at $150 an ounce and adopting other purgative devices. To the shibboleths of "flexible currency" and "maintenance of the price level" he is not bound: "The only thing that renders the price level sacrosanct is the existence of debt. Reduce the importance of debt in the scheme of things and the problem of a stable price level will take care of itself" (p. 279).

The text is sparsely annotated; the diction occasionally lacks conciseness; a useful index and a bibliography of some range are added.

Washington. JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS.

The Renaissance of Medicine in Italy. By Arturo Castiglioni, M. D., Professor of the History of Medicine at the University of Padua. [Hideyo

Noguchi Lectures, The Institute of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. xiv, 91, $1.50). The statement still appears, in excellent secondary school texts, that the sciences were neglected during the Italian Renaissance. This view would certainly have surprised the versatile thinkers of the period, who cultivated the sciences with the same enthusiasm which they devoted to the arts. There is no better illustration of their wide interests than that afforded by the history of medicine—a history which Professor Castiglioni here reviews and interprets in masterly fashion. Not the least attractive feature of this volume is the very human introduction by Professor Sigerist, in which he presents Castiglioni as the outstanding authority in the field.

The Renaissance of Medicine in Italy is not a story of technical progress as such, but portrays the development of medical studies as an integral part of the general intellectual awakening. In medicine, as in religion, there was in Italy no violent revolt against the past. There was no Paracelsus south of the Alps, just as there was no Luther. The great tradition in anatomy evolved gradually through three centuries at Padua and Bologna. Without generations of patient predecessors there would have been no Leonardo da Vinci, although Leonardo was "the first truly great scientist of the Renaissance". He exemplified perfectly that blend of scientific and artistic interests which proved such a happy approach to anatomical research. Despite Leonardo's apparent failure to influence his contemporaries, anatomy subsequently took the direction he had indicated.

Vesalius most completely realized what Leonardo had envisaged in this field. Even with Vesalius, there was no protest against the classics, to which he always referred with the greatest respect. (Some authorities have interpreted him as the last of the ancients, rather than as the first of the moderns.) But Vesalius also displayed a typical Renaissance independence and largely replaced Galen, thus becoming "the father of modern anatomy". Meanwhile, anatomical research led quite naturally to an interest in physiology; just as the study of statics developed, during the same period, into an investigation of dynamics. It is possible, therefore, to view Galilei, the Italian-trained Harvey, and other physiologists of the seventeenth century, as the logical successors of Leonardo and Vesalius. Most significant was Fracastoro's pioneer formulation of the *contagium vivum* hypothesis. Italy thus contributed, at the outset of modern medical research, both a knowledge of the human body, and what proved to be a valid theory of its diseases.

Duke University. RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas, 1545–1592. Par Léon Van der Essen, professeur à l'Université de Louvain.

Tome IV, *Le siège d'Anvers, 1584–1585.* (Brussels, Nouvelle Société d'Éditions, 1935, pp. xiv, 154, 100 fr.) The siege and fall of Antwerp in 1585, to which the present volume is devoted, cannot be fully discussed in a volume of 148 pages. The author has refrained from mentioning in detail the negotiations carried on between the city of Antwerp and the governments of France, England, and the Dutch Republic. But he has given an excellent account of the military operations of Alexander Farnese, basing his narrative upon the best original sources available, especially Spanish and Italian documents.

It is to be regretted that a subject of such great importance has been treated adequately only from one angle. For example, the appeal made by the States-General of the Dutch Republic to the king of France for aid, his refusal, and the desire on the part of the Dutch to conclude a treaty with Queen Elisabeth are dismissed in one paragraph, with only one footnote, which refers to the preface of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series,* for the year 1584-1585. Nowhere in this volume is there a reference to the indispensable Dutch source, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609* (vol. V, 1921), covering the years 1585-1587.

The University of Michigan. A. Hyma.

Introduction à l'Étude comparative de l'histoire du droit public des peuples slaves. Par Karel Kadlec, professeur à l'Université Charles de Prague. [Manuels de l'Institut d'études slaves, III.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1934, pp. viii, 329.) Professor Kadlec of the Caroline University at Prague died before completing his work on the comparative history of Slavic public law. This book, revised and translated by the Institute of Slavonic Studies at Paris, is therefore incomplete. It contains nine chapters, short but excellent summaries, dealing with the habitat of the Slavs, the Baltic and Elbe Slavs, the Bulgar State, the Serb State, the Russian States (*sic*), the Czech State, the Polish-Lithuanian State, the Slovenes, and the Croats and the Republic of Ragusa.

The chapter on Russia is carried to 1905, since of all the Slavic people, Russia alone has "preserved a series of juridical monuments uninterrupted from the tenth century to modern times". No such material exists for the medieval history of the other Slavic states, especially Bulgaria where "the brutal hand of the enemy has destroyed the rich juridical treasure of the Bulgar people". The fact that when the Slavic states declined in the Middle Ages they became exposed to "foreign juridical institutions" makes it virtually impossible to trace the indigenous legal patterns apart from the foreign elements.

The title of the book indicates that Professor Kadlec intended to employ the comparative, as opposed to the strictly historical, method. But instead of doing so, he wrote a series of separate historical studies, without making any attempt at linking his facts or comparing his conclusions, and even

without deducing some common characteristic of Slavic institutions. In the introduction the author has made an effort at generalization. He says that all the Slavs were inclined to put "individual liberty" over the "liberty of the nation". This, therefore, often "degenerated into anarchy", which led to the destruction of the Slavic states. He, like so many other Slavic historians, also speaks glibly of a "sense of liberty" among the Slavs. Even an unruly feudal noble or Polish *szlachcic* had no "sense" of liberty, let alone the masses of people who were—in the Slavic lands still more than in Western Europe—serfs whose condition, even as late as the eighteenth century, was hopeless. Surely the author did not mean to labor the obvious point that Slavic rulers and nobles liked to be untrammeled in their actions?

The University of California. S. K. Padover.

English Literature and Culture in Russia, 1553–1840. By Ernest J. Simmons. [Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Volume XII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1935, pp. viii, 357, $3.50.) An attempt to give in three hundred odd pages an adequate survey of English literary and cultural influences in Russia from the middle of the sixteenth century up to the middle of the nineteenth may seem to be a tour de force. The title of Mr. Simmons's book is in fact somewhat misleading. Most of the text (chs. V–X, pp. 102-305) has been devoted to literature only, and that for the limited period from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1840. But before the middle of the eighteenth century the influence of English literature was hardly felt in Russia. The chapters referred to are partly based on previous investigations, chiefly of Russian scholars, and partly present the results of Mr. Simmons's own research. On the whole, Mr. Simmons has given a valid picture of the influence of English literature on the growth of Russian literature.

Students of both English and Russian literature may find in Mr. Simmons's book many interesting facts and details, particularly with regard to the role of Russian journals. It would have been interesting to read the author's comments on the popularity of the *Economy of Human Life,* by Dodsley (sometimes ascribed to Chesterfield), the first Russian translation of which appeared in 1752. Several later editions were published in the second half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Another subject which might have been mentioned was the interest of Russian eighteenth century Freemasons in the English seventeenth century mystic, John Pordage. I have referred to some Russian manuscript translations of Pordage in my book on *Russian Freemasonry in the Age of Catherine II* (1917).

The first three chapters of Mr. Simmons's book, covering English non-literary influences in Russia from the middle of the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, are rather sketchy and not nearly so adequate or valuable a contribution as the last and larger part of the book. On the first

two pages dealing with medieval Russian background many statements made by Mr. Simmons are of very questionable accuracy. Furthermore, the author quite obviously overrated England's role in Russia's cultural development. While even in the Middle Ages there had always existed certain cultural relations between Russia and the West, the era of more extensive contacts was inaugurated, not by the English in the middle of the sixteenth century, but by the Italians almost a century before.

Yale University. GEORGE VERNADSKY.

The Register of the Freemen of Norwich, 1548–1713. By Percy Millican (Norwich, Jarrold and Sons, 1934, pp. xxiii, 306, 30*s.*) The editor of an early series of extracts from quarter sessions records omitted items relating to mean folk. Here, in the Norwich *Register,* is a volume devoted to names for the most part obscure, yet its content is invaluable to the historian, and its publication recognizes his increasing need for the raw material of card catalogues. For economic and social history the usefulness of these records is only beginning. Mr. Millican suggests their importance for analyzing alien immigration, but it extends to the whole field of the interrelationships among trades and handicrafts. From apprentice indentures something can be learned about the mobility of labor; of the several thousand indentures in the Norwich archives, this volume includes abstracts of over a thousand selected to supplement the data of the register. It is even possible that registers such as these may be found to have a quantitative significance, not only for the development of particular industries but as an index, cautiously used, to the existence of cyclical movements in trade and industry before the nineteenth century.

In view of this varied demand, the editor of municipal registers must supply a variety of aids. Since in apprentice indentures there is often a lag between binding and enrollment, and the degree of this lag may indicate the regard for municipal regulations, the Norwich abstracts might well have given the date of enrollment; since an indenture or an admission may be dated only by a mayoralty term, a list of mayors would be helpful. Moreover, since the statutory basis for apprenticeship was the Act of 1563 with its elaborate property qualifications, one wonders, finding in the present volume no such certificates of the parent's estate as occur occasionally elsewhere (in Chester), whether any certificates exist among the unpublished indentures which the editor has inspected.

The arrangement chosen of classifying entries by trades instead of by years, though it facilitates a survey of trade groups, may be responsible for the duplication of certain entries. Some others are misplaced chronologically. Whether the omission of the sums paid by "foreigners" for freedoms is the editor's or in the original is not stated. Finally the index of names is marred by occasional slips.

Criticism, however, is outweighed by gratitude for an undertaking

edited with an editorial skill rare among municipal record publications: admirable in form, wide pages permitting entries to be displayed in single lines; an informative introduction with a convenient calendar of feast days and a reference list of the total entries for each trade; and a text in which gaps have been filled from the Assembly and Court books.

Cambridge. MARGARET R. GAY.

Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate. By M. P. Ashley, D.Phil. [Oxford Historical Series, Editors, G. N. Clark, C. R Cruttwell, F. M. Powicke.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 190, $4.00.) This monograph, the result of a thesis done, it would appear, at, or in connection with, the Institute of Historical Research, is a credit to the author and an interesting and important contribution to our knowledge of the Cromwellian period. It considers not merely the details of Cromwellian official finance, such as taxes, public finance, and the public debt, but has chapters as well on the commercial classes, on the trading companies, on foreign trade outside the companies, on trade and shipping, and on the "Depression of 1659-1660". It thus forms a tolerably complete conspectus of a hitherto neglected part of the Cromwellian period, the more valuable in that the financial and commercial implications of the Protectorate were of far more importance on the more purely political side than previous historians have been willing to credit. The great value of such a study as this is, in fact, that, explicitly or implicitly, it helps to explain some otherwise difficult passages in public affairs. It does, of course, much more than this, for it has great importance in itself as well as in its contribution to political history. Its conclusion is most interesting, whether one agrees wholly with it or not. It is that "in questions of commerce and public finance the period was more prolific in new facts than in ideas"; and that "on the whole, the ultimate significance of the six years' government by Oliver Cromwell lay in this: a gradual return to old ways". Yet, to quote again, with regard to the monthly assessment, though it "was not a remarkably new kind of tax, nor was it administered in a very revolutionary manner", it "nevertheless contributed to the break-up of the mediaeval financial system". One could, it seems to one reader, go somewhat further than that without any great stretching of the truth.

W. C. A.

Une famille de bourgeoisie française de Louis XIV à Napoléon. Par Charles H. Pouthas, docteur ès Lettres, professeur au Lycée Janson-de-Sailly. [Bibliothèque de la Revue historique.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1934, pp. viii, 211, 25 fr.) Local history has little value when it is written merely to satisfy family pride or antiquarian curiosity. It is of real importance when it attaches itself to general history and concerns itself with subjects significant in

themselves. It may study the actual working out of a great historical movement in a restricted zone; so doing, it puts flesh on the dry bones of a skeletonized outline. Or it may delve into the ancestral background of a distinguished historical figure and thus illuminate his mind and character. The volume under consideration has the double merit of essaying both of these tasks. M. Pouthas has been studying the early career of the statesman and historian François Guizot for the past fifteen years. In *Une famille de bourgeoisie française* he traces the ancestors of Guizot in Languedoc and especially at Nîmes from the beginning of the sixteenth century, with particular emphasis on their fortunes in the eighteenth. This throws his heroes (whom he reveals as by no means all heroic) against a double background of stirring events, the persecution of the Huguenots and the French Revolution. The reader is given a satisfactory notion of Grandfather Jean Guizot, a plodding, mediocre Huguenot pastor, of Grandfather Bonicel, the lawyer who outraged all his Girondist friends and relatives by going Mountain, and of André Guizot, known as Guizot-Gignoux, François's young father, the courageous enthusiastic federalist, one of the leaders of the departmental revolt, a victim of the guillotine in 1794. Just how the fruits of this heredity worked themselves out in the somewhat somber, uninspiring minister of Louis Philippe, the reader is left to determine if he can. But the fortunes of the Guizot family are lost sight of in a considerable part of the book, to its own advantage. The chief interest of the volume after all lies in the narrative of the stubborn uphill fight of French Protestantism from the days of persecution in "the Desert" to the days of industrial power in the town and in the fascinating study of how, when the Revolution came, the great Protestant bourgeois families dominated the scene until the fall of the Girondists, which was likewise their fall and total destruction. The author shows skillfully how the bitter sectarian rivalries of Southern France were interwoven with economic hatreds into the political fabric of the Terror, in which the Catholic proletariat avenged itself on its Protestant employers.

Goucher College. EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Rapports de la légation de France à Copenhague: Correspondance consulaire relatifs à la Norvège, 1670–1791. Publiés pour Kjeldeskriftfondet par Oscar Albert Johnsen, professeur à l'Université d'Oslo. Tome I, *1670–1748.* [Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institut.] (Oslo, for the Commission, by Jacob Dybwad, 1934, pp. 364.) During the past two decades various agencies in Norway, official and semiofficial, have promoted a systematic search in the archives of Europe for documentary materials that may be of importance to the study and writing of Norwegian history. Among those employed in this work, Professor Oscar Albert Johnsen has been peculiarly active and his labors have been rewarded with many important finds. The

present volume is the outcome of two periods of search in the Archives des Affaires étrangères in Paris, where Dr. Johnsen devoted his time to an examination of the letters and reports received from the French consulate in Copenhagen. Of these documents copies were made of such only as have an interest for Norwegian history, though their significance is by no means limited to that subject.

One would expect that consular correspondence would be concerned with trade and commercial prospects, and such is the character of the earlier reports; but with the outbreak of war in 1689 the interest changes. Of a total of 213 documents, 123, or more than half, belong to the period 1689-1697. These have to do chiefly with the fortunes of French privateers and the many problems that were bound to arise where privateering was the common form of naval warfare. French captains were evidently quite active on the lengthy Norwegian coast; but Dutch and English vessels were also active in the same waters and the consul was not always happy over the news from the Norwegian ports. The story is much the same in the period of the succeeding war, though the problems appear to be less acute; Professor Johnsen found only twenty documents that were pertinent to Norway in the years 1702-1714.

The collection also includes a few letters that have little to do either with war or with commerce. Of these one may mention a letter (dated January 14, 1713) in which M. Poussin describes and characterizes the Danish king and his court and ministers in terms that are not highly flattering either to king or government. One can readily understand how convenient a dependable cipher can be when reports of this character have to be forwarded.

L. M. L.

Cahiers de doléances de la colonie de Saint-Domingue pour les États généraux de 1789. Publiés par Blanche Maurel, professeur agrégée au Lycée Victor Duruy.

Cahiers de doléances des bailliages des généralités de Metz et de Nancy pour les États généraux de 1789. Série I, Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle. Tome IV, *Cahiers du bailliage de Nancy.* Publiés par Jean Godfrin, licencié ès lettres, licencié en droit. [Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire économique de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1934; 1934, pp. 399; xlvi, 514, 40; 55 fr.) The publication of the cahiers of 1789 goes on apace. Not the least conspicuous feat of scholarship in this field has been the discovery and publication of the *Cahiers de doléances de la colonie de Saint-Domingue* by Professor Blanche Maurel. Owing to the secrecy which attended the movement for a colonial representation in the States-General, these documents have had a fortune quite different from that of similar expressions of grievances in the mother country, and owing to the

absence of detailed inventories of the colonial records in the Archives nationales, they have up to the present escaped the attention of historians. A revision of the previous histories of this important French colony is therefore necessitated by the disclosures here made. Professor Maurel publishes also, in addition to the cahiers proper, twenty-one "Pièces justificatives", covering 246 printed pages, which throw light on the origin of the movement for a colonial representation and on the conditions attending the drafting of the cahiers. Though several of these *pièces* have long been known to historians and even utilized, the majority of them have not hitherto been available. The introduction common to such publications as this leaves nothing to be desired. At the end of the volume is a very useful "Répertoire des noms de personnes".

The volume by M. Godfrin is but the fourth in a series which promises to be much longer. The bailliage of Nancy, old capital of Lorraine and seat of an intendancy, was the largest and most populous in that region. In 1789 the inhabitants drew up eighty preliminary cahiers, of which seventy-seven have been found and are here made easily available to the historian. The chief preoccupation of M. Godfrin was to discover the degree of influence exercised by models and salient personalities on the redaction of the cahiers. The result is surprising, especially to the uninitiated. Thirty-three cahiers were copied verbatim or with slight variations from the two or three models which were circulated in the locality; twelve were "diversement inspirés"; only thirty-two were original. "Le temps pressait", M. Godfrin explains. "Les délais étaient courts et les travaux de la campagne devenaient plus urgents. Pour ce pensum d'un nouveau genre, on copia beaucoup sur le voisin. Nous avons groupé les cahiers du bailliage de Nancy par types, d'après leurs ressemblances. Ce groupement par types aboutit à un groupement territorial". The truth of the last statement is graphically shown by an accompanying map. The volume concludes with the minutes of the electoral assembly and the general cahier of the bailliage.

The University of North Carolina. MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

French Revolutions. By E. L. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 237, $3.00.) This little volume comprises a series of lectures given at Alexandra College, Dublin, under the Lady Ardilaun Foundation. The aim of this foundation is to "interest the people of Dublin, and particularly the members of Alexandra College, in the history, literature, art, and civilization of France", and the lecturer has approached its achievement through the medium of the revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The choice of such a medium is the result of the author's convictions that the first duty of the historian is "to understand what men have wanted, what men have tried to do"; that an examination of French history on this basis

will show it to possess not only a romantic but a "practical" interest; and that such an examination may be conducted most profitably through the study of those periods when Frenchmen were effecting changes.

Mr. Woodward devotes his first three chapters to the Revolution of 1789, and the other five chapters to the period from the Restoration to the Commune of 1871. Throughout the work the writer pursues his theme consistently and finally overtakes it in the establishment of "the bases of a politically civilized society" under the Third Republic. Yet he leaves his audience with the feeling that that society is by no means static. The book is written with clarity, vigor, and literary agility which outweigh its defects in historical mechanics and its omission of new information. The absence of serious consideration of revolutionary patterns may indicate simply that Mr. Woodward is a man of discretion.

As evidence of the continuing Oxonian tradition of readable, as well as scholarly history, Mr. Woodward's book is a credit to him. As a piece of craftsmanship, it is a credit to the publishers who, unlike many of their contemporaries, seem to be concerned with the artistic as well as the intellectual quality of their products.

Western Reserve University. JOHN HALL STEWART.

Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England: being an Account of the Luddite and other Disorders in England during the Years 1811–1817 and of the Attitude and Activity of the Authorities. By Frank Ongley Darvall, Ph.D. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pp. 363, $5.00.) Dr. Darvall has made a detailed study of the causes, extent, and character of the disturbances that gripped the Midlands and the north of England in the years 1812 and 1816. The disorders of the earlier year were especially serious, thousands of troops being used to quell them and to prevent further outbreaks. They were, however, local; the leaders had no definite program; the disorders never assumed the character of a revolution; and the general public remained calm although the government was at times panic-stricken.

The author is of the opinion that the prevailing distress caused in 1812 by the American Nonintercourse Act and Napoleon's Continental System and in 1816 by the slump in trade and industry that followed the war, rather than a concerted opposition to the new machines, was responsible for the unrest among the laborers; he thinks also that if the workers had been allowed freedom of discussion and organization, much trouble might have been averted. His point of view is that of the Hammonds whose account in *The Skilled Labourer* of the activities of Oliver the Spy Dr. Darvall accepts without reference to the criticism of it by Mr. A. F. Fremantle (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII [Mar., 1932], 601-616).

The book is based on extensive research in the Home Office Papers,

the newspapers both metropolitan and provincial, the printed Parliamentary Papers, and other contemporary material. It presents new evidence of the deplorable economic and social conditions in England in the early part of the nineteenth century, and of the callousness and inefficiency of the government. Students of English history will find much of value in Dr. Darvall's book but they may consider it hard reading and be irked by infelicitous expressions such as "hard pressed by the pressure of trade depression" and "The Poor Law also, strained beyond all precedent, was a somewhat inadequate solvent to distress" (p. 46). English critics who seldom miss an opportunity to point with scorn at the stylistic faults of American doctoral dissertations, please note.

The University of Wisconsin. PAUL KNAPLUND.

Les journées de septembre 1830 à Bruxelles et en Province: Étude critique d'après les sources. Par Robert Demoulin, docteur en philosophie et lettres. [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liége.] (Paris, E. Droz, 1934, pp. 280.) This is a careful study of the events of the critical week of September 19 to 26, 1830, in the revolt of Belgium against Dutch domination. It is based on archival materials found in the national and municipal repositories in Brussels and the provinces, on contemporary journals, newspapers, and memoirs, and on a thorough acquaintance with the secondary literature in the field. Aside from a commendable effort to bring to the reader the atmosphere of the early days of the revolt, the author shows that although there was a small group of radicals who from the beginning wanted independence from Holland, the vast majority of the people, especially the *bourgeoisie* and the clergy, were interested, not in a revolution, but in securing a modification of the domination by the Dutch—"au début de Septembre, il ne s'agit pas encore de rompre brutalement avec la Haye . . ." (p. 11). Referring to the attitude at this time of the leader D'Hooghvorst, he says, "never was it revolutionary" (p. 111). On the other hand, even though the revolution was not generally premeditated the desire for independence developed rapidly. This was especially true of the masses, though the author vigorously combats the accusation that the middle class was hostile. The patriots, he declares, did not align themselves according to social groups. "Ce n'est pas un motif social qui pousse les gens à se battre le 23 Septembre . . . . Se sont battus à Bruxelles les patriotes les plus exaltés . . ." (pp. 164-165). When the *bourgeoisie* got into the movement, they gave it a distinctly national turn, witness *Le petit catéchisme du citoyen Belge en septembre 1830.*

The claim of certain writers that the Revolution was incited by Paris republicans who made the first successes possible, and who aimed at annexing the provinces to France is, after a critical review of the evidence,

dismissed as untenable—"les agents français ne trouvent pas à Bruxelles l'acceuil qu'ils espéraient".

Although very patriotic and nationalistic, the monograph is reasonably objective, throwing the searchlight of intensive investigation on a brief but crucial period in the struggle for Belgian independence.

The University of Pennsylvania. W. E. LINGELBACH.

The Rise of Gladstone to the Leadership of the Liberal Party, 1859 to 1868. By W. E. Williams, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. ix, 188, $2.75.) One always wishes to treat a prize essay kindly, in part for the endorsement which it bears; but it is impossible to commend this little book without a good deal of reserve. Its author set out "to discover which forces determined Gladstone's future, promoting him, as it were, from mere cabinet rank to the position of a popular leader". He felt—and his approach is worth noting—that "he would be a very foolish man who would stray far from Morley's highway"; but he found that Morley was "inadequate" for this phase of Gladstone's life. His own purpose was then to fill the gap by drawing from the Hawarden papers "some of the treasure which Morley was forced to leave behind". The treasure now appears in the form of some seventy interesting letters; but it cannot be said that their discoverer throws much new light on the "forces" which account for Gladstone's rise to leadership. One trouble is that he has failed to co-ordinate his new material with other available sources, and with studies previously made. In a chapter on Gladstone's connection with the Cobden treaty he finds it unnecessary to do more than annotate a few new letters, almost exclusively *from* Cobden *to* Gladstone, by the use of three well-known biographies, two volumes of collected speeches, and a curious attack on Gladstone from *Fraser's Magazine*. That he looked at the Russell papers or at Professor Dunham's book and article on the treaty there is not the slightest evidence. True, he was writing an essay; but he presents it as the product of research. For a second example one may take the important chapter on "Parliamentary Reform, 1860-1864". A section is given to proving that Gladstone was not "acting under the influence of Bright", and that the two had "little in common" between 1860 and 1865. If these statements are true we should have an explanation of entries in Bright's published *Diaries*, recording four intimate conversations which occurred within the weeks just prior to Gladstone's famous speech on the suffrage in 1864 (pp. 269, 271, 272, 276). In one at least of these, which took place by appointment at Gladstone's house, and at which Cobden was to have been present, the talk appears to have been mainly on reform. But, strange as it may seem, Bright's *Diaries* are not referred to anywhere.

It is more pleasant to point out that the book has real merits. Many

of the new letters are really treasure-trove; and portions of the text all through have been thoughtfully worked out. The concluding chapters, covering the period from 1865 to 1868, add considerably to our knowledge of the struggle for reform and of its aftermath. And the essay serves to substantiate the author's claims that Gladstone "in many ways . . . had the mind of an artist", that he was a "pioneer" in courage, and that his knowledge, sympathy, and foresight were all contributory to his success.

Wesleyan University. HERBERT C. BELL.

The Tsar of Freedom: the Life and Reign of Alexander II. By Stephen Graham. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935, pp. xii, 324, $3.50.) This book is Mr. Graham's fourth venture in the field of Russian history. Like its predecessors, it is not a work of research but a popular biography, very well written and making excellent reading. In my opinion, it is the best of the four. Because of the nature of the subject, there was less opportunity to dwell upon the "exotic", and the result is a more sober and better balanced presentation. The scope of the book is wide enough, covering, as it does, Alexander II's own life story, Russia's foreign and domestic policies, and the nation's cultural development during the period. Of Alexander's personal character and tragic fate Mr. Graham has written with sympathetic understanding and eloquence. Here I find little to quarrel with. I think, for instance, that the author has exaggerated Alexander's determination to attack serfdom at the time of his accession to the throne. The brief sketches of the emperor's principal collaborators are excellent, with the exception of Rostovtsev, toward whom Mr. Graham is not altogether fair. Very good are the chapters on Russia's relations with England and the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878.

On the other hand, the treatment of the reforms is too brief and, in general, less adequate. And there are many things I feel like objecting to in Mr. Graham's discussion of the political ideas of the period. The familiar designation of the whole revolutionary movement of the time as "Nihilism" is historically incorrect and misleading. Equally misleading is the identification of Slavophilism with various brands of Russian nationalism. No student of early Russian socialism will agree that Herzen "was not one of those who demanded the complete destruction of existing institutions" (p. 107), that for Lavrov "the masses were only the manure of history" (p. 157), and that "the Marxian movement in the late sixties tended to develop through Bakunin" (p. 158).

What injures Mr. Graham's book most is a certain carelessness he displays too often both in his general statements and in specific references. "Education was an experiment which had not been tried in Russia before 1850" (p. 97). "All Russia became possessed by revolutionary ideas

directly after the emancipation of the serfs" (p. 102). "Russia sided with the terrorists until it was too late" (p. 274). In each case gross exaggeration is obvious, to say the least. At times the author seems to be at war with chronology. To cite but a few examples: the date of the Kutchuk-Kainardji treaty is given as 1744 (p. x); Nekrasov's poem *Who can be happy in Russia,* written in the seventies, is cited as typical of the period 1848-1855 (p. 52); Thiers is made to visit St. Petersburg in 1867, and as Napoleon's envoy at that (p. 149). In the bibliography one author's name is misspelled, and some titles are either incomplete or incorrect.

Harvard University. MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

Heinrich von Treitschke im deutschen Geistesleben des 19. Jahrhunderts. Von Ernst Leipprand. (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1935, pp. v, 286.) In this volume Herr Leipprand renders homage to Heinrich von Treitschke, nationalist historian of nineteenth century Germany, "whose belief in the German people and whose love for the State have become strong in us again today". He eulogizes Treitschke as a man who guarded Germany's precious national possessions and who pointed out the guiding paths of the new Reich in its spiritual regeneration. In the author's opinion, the character and ideals of Treitschke have been misunderstood by superficial estimates of him as the Machiavelli of German history, whereas, as a matter of fact, the historian embodied in his political beliefs the best of the spirit of Plato and Aristotle, Fichte and Hegel, Niebuhr and Savigny, Dahlmann and Mohl. He lauds Treitschke, who endeavored to work politically through history (*durch die Geschichte politisch zu wirken*), as a powerful factor in the creation of a comparatively unified national spirit.

Herr Leipprand's work bears the earmarks of careful and conscientious scholarship. Of particular interest is his section on Treitschke's ardent belief in the "higher values" of war, and the chapter in which he weighs favorably the virtues of subjective history, as exemplified by Macaulay and Treitschke, against "colorless objectivity". The chapter on Treitschke's "Battle against Judaism" gives an excellent account of the historian's personal and political relationships with the fiery *Hofprediger,* Adolf Stoecker, whose opposition to "rationalistic Liberalism, unpatriotic Social Democracy and disintegrating Judaism" struck a responsive chord in Treitschke's soul.

In spite of his strongly eulogistic tone, by which Treitschke is presented as the great *praeceptor Germaniae,* Herr Leipprand has written a valuable analysis of the life and work of Germany's patriot-historian. He has made a well-integrated selection of the mass of material at his disposal, among which was Treitschke's unpublished correspondence, made available to the author by the historian's daughter, Fräulein von Treitschke. He has also made good use of the unpublished letters of Schmoller and Haym.

The chapters are well organized. The style is notably free of philosophical abstractions. There is no index.

The College of the City of New York LOUIS LEO SNYDER.

Morocco at the Parting of the Ways: the Story of Native Protection to 1885. By Earl Fee Cruickshank, Assistant Professor of Modern European History, Vanderbilt University. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. xxv, 238, $2.50.) The bibliography of American works dealing with Morocco is small, and for that reason it is gratifying to note that despite the French and Spanish occupation and exploitation of the country, the international problem has not been wholly lost sight of in the United States. A welcome book is Dr. Cruickshank's *Morocco at the Parting of the Ways,* which aims to bring out the importance of the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the foreign powers in Morocco. The author obtained access to many official records of the United States, Great Britain, and Spain not commonly used by writers on the subject; France was less generous in opening her archives to him. Dr. Cruickshank has made a very conscientious examination of his material and sheds new light on the history of the subject.

The subtitle "The Story of Native Protection to 1885" gives perhaps a better idea of the contents, for the book is in fact a narrative rather than a study. After an introductory chapter in which he explains the nature of the interest taken in Morocco by England, France, and Spain, the author begins his real topic with an account of the system of protection or adoption of individual natives by foreign powers. In his preoccupation with making his theme interesting, he frequently becomes involved and sometimes goes astray in a maze of details.

The chapters are logically arranged, but the sequence might be improved by a careful summing up at the end of each one. Chapter I is the most interesting, chapter V the most clearly informative; this latter narrates the proceedings of the First International Conference at Madrid, May 19 to July 3, 1889. The style is cursive, rather informal, and the book ends somewhat abruptly. An unusually complete index makes it possible to trace the various topics, and an extensive bibliography occupies pages 202 to 217.

Northwestern University. W. O. FARNSWORTH.

The Bismarckian Policy of Conciliation with France, 1875–1885. By Pearl Boring Mitchell. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. ix, 238, $2.50.) Dr. Mitchell reviews this important theme, which is of course much better known than she assumes (p. 7), chiefly in the light of the first five volumes of the *Documents diplomatiques français.* From this principal source supplemented by material from some of the

usual memoirs, the German diplomatic correspondence, and a few French and German newspapers, she has written a concise, clear, and intelligent account. Like Professor Langer, she traces the beginning of Bismarck's conciliatory policy to the discussion of a Franco-German understanding during the war scare of 1875 and contends, unconvincingly in the reviewer's opinion, that Moltke, not Bismarck, "was responsible for the alarms of the German press" (p. 41). An earlier reference to Bismarck's "motive in precipitating the war scare", however, contradicts this conclusion (p. 21). The author is to be commended for her zeal in tracing every instance of Bismarck's support of France and for her skillful analysis of the Egyptian question in its relation to the problem of Franco-German co-operation. Due weight is given to the mutual suspicions which always restrained Bismarck and Ferry.

Against the merits of this study must be balanced its inadequate and inaccurate documentation and its too numerous mechanical errors. Busch, Schweinitz, Waldersee, and Ballhausen have not been used, nor is there any evidence that the French and German scholarly and other reviews, with the one exception of the *Berliner Monatshefte,* have been searched for pertinent material. The single reference to Wienefeld's *Franco-German Relations, 1878–1885* appears in the addenda to the bibliography. Inexcusable errors occur in the identification of the newspapers. Both the *Pays* and the *Gaulois* were Bonapartist, not Monarchist, in their sympathies. The *Figaro* was a Monarchist, not a Republican journal, and Gaston Calmette, who joined its staff in 1884, was not its editor during any part of this period. Of the German newspapers, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (of Augsburg, not of Munich) and the *Kölnische Zeitung* should be identified as National Liberal journals. The *Berliner Tageblatt,* which is quoted for 1875, began publication in 1884 (p. 30). Proper names are repeatedly misspelled.

Duke University. E. Malcolm Carroll.

Kämpfe um Volk und Reich: Aufsätze und Reden zur deutschen Geschichte des neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. Von Willy Andreas. (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1934, pp. 290, 6.80 M.) These essays, revised and expanded from the original versions published between 1924 and 1933, often afford excellent source material for a commentary on German thought under the Republic. It is disappointing, however, that the author has not brought his comments and observations down to date. For example, his essay on "Österreich und der Anschluss", the sequel of an excellent study on "Die Wandlungen des grossdeutschen Gedankens", makes no mention of events after 1927. The volume derives its title from the clarion call for greater German unity which sounds in each essay. Yet, although the book went to the press in 1934, Professor Andreas does not so much as mention the most recent governmental

changes in Germany. Indications are that they would meet with the author's approval.

Three essays deal with figures of the Napoleonic period. The ardent nationalistic plea with which the author concludes each of these essays does not lessen the value of his sound historical research. The brief characterization of Stein while containing nothing new is noteworthy. The study of "Franz von Roggenbach, a Statesman of Baden in the Years of the Formation of the Empire" describes the failure of his liberalism as a unifying program and gives an opportunity to mention the importance of a strong Prussia in the struggle for German unification. The essay on Kiderlen-Wächter is critical, especially of his Morocco policy. Certain interesting sidelights on Kiderlen's personality are given. Two articles, one on "Rheinland, Prussia, and Germany from the Wars of Liberation to the Present" and the other, "The Evacuation of the Occupied Territories", are merely occasional efforts animated by nationalistic enthusiasm and not up to the standards of the other essays. Although calling upon history to witness the necessity of a Germany other than that of the twenties, the essays nevertheless possess historical objectivity and are brilliantly done. A short appendix discloses the large amount of unpublished archival material which the author has used.

Bowdoin College. E. C. Helmreich.

Lord Riddell's Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After, 1918-1923. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934, pp. xii, 435, $3.75.) This is a most entertaining book. For the reader who already knows something about the politics of the period and is not to be deceived by the extravagant stories that appear on almost every page, the diary is of some historical importance. Less than a quarter of the volume is devoted to the peace conference. Most of the material included consists of conversations with Lloyd George, which are frequently recorded in detail and range from topics of the largest political importance to the smallest personal gossip. Lord Riddell's personal contacts were extensive, but in his published diary he restricts himself to the role of a Boswell. The book must thus be regarded primarily as a contribution to the picture of Lloyd George as a personality and to political history as understood by Lloyd George. There is some material of historical interest in the reminiscent remarks passed by Riddell and Lloyd George on different phases of the war. The two chapters on the Washington Arms Conference contain little of importance. The student will find confirmation for the impression that Lloyd George depended almost entirely upon journalists for his information. The diary also illustrates the sudden change of atmosphere following the Peace Conference, when the background of policy lost its international and and took on a national color.

Yale University. Charles Seymour.

The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720. By Curtis Putnam Nettels, Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. [Studies in the Social Sciences and History.] (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1934, pp. 300, $2.00.) For this outstanding study Professor Nettels has examined a vast collection of Colonial Office Papers and other manuscript sources from which he presents his argument logically and always well supported by illustrative notes. The value of the work lies in the fact that it is the first of its kind to treat money in relation to the colonies as a whole and not simply as an isolated phenomenon. The author stresses the importance of money in trade, and in manufacturing, credit relations, and British colonial policy. The study is broad enough to offer much new information on our knowledge of early imperialism.

One of the author's most valuable contributions to our knowledge of colonial trade is his discussion of the invisible items occurring in the large balance of payment of the Southern trade. These are not listed in the British customs records. They included payments made by the planters for freight, merchants' profits and commissions, and the importation of servants and slaves, which comprised "probably the most abundant sources of the stream of profit flowing from North America to enrich England" (p. 59). As for the Northern colonies, these enjoyed a much better commercial position than the tobacco colonies because of a favorable external trade that was due largely to shipbuilding, shipowning, and methods of marketing. For the protection of the trade of New England and New York in wartime, England spent during the years 1708-1711 £222,000 for naval convoys. This was a most important service that leads one to reflect upon the large variety of useful public and even of private employments assigned to royal ships in colonial waters, particularly in the West Indies during the period 1680-1720. One of these was against piracy and yet merchants of southern New England and New York carried on an illegal trade with pirates sufficient to provide a valued supplement to the external trade as a source of colonial returns. The trade was not prohibited generally because certain governors, like Fletcher of New York, out of cupidity or from fear of antagonizing local merchants and politicians chose to ignore their obvious duties as chief police and revenue officials.

Of present interest to the student of finance are the chapters (VIII, IX, and X) discussing the commodity currencies obtaining in the different colonies, and the familiar financial expedients that were devised by the colonists in their desperate efforts to maintain an abundant and cheap currency.

Bucknell University. CYRUS H. KARRAKER.

Chapters in Frontier History: Research Studies in the Making of the West. By Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Research Professor of History, Loyola

University, Chicago. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1934, pp. xv, 188, $2.50.) The Jesuits were the first historians of the Westward Movement, and Father Garraghan in this volume, and his other published works, has followed a fine tradition. His chapters on "Old Vincennes" and "Chicago under the French Régime" are carefully wrought accounts of first things in these two Mississippi Valley centers. His principal interest, however, lies in trans-Mississippi history, and there he outlines the first brief settlement on the site of St. Louis, a chapter in which he was the first to discover the history of this mission, not previously known. The following chapters carry the story up the Missouri river, among the Indian tribes, whose missionaries Point and De Smet were also Jesuits of large accomplishments. The chapter on the "Trappists of Monks Mound" fills in a little-known episode of early nineteenth century religious history.

Father Garraghan is a conscientious and painstaking researcher; but in his presentation he is occasionally careless of names and details. The D'Artaguiette of the martyrdom of 1736 was not Diron but a younger brother Pierre; he calls the missionary Joseph Williams, John, while quoting in a footnote the correct name. The nineteenth century explorer Nicollet was Joseph not Jean. La Sueur should be Le Sueur. Some omissions perplex the reviewer. Father Dunand, a Trappist from Monks Mound, visited Prairie du Chien in 1817; yet nothing is said of his remaining in the West when the order withdrew some years earlier. George III and William Pitt as patrons of the Trappists does not sound convincing; nor the possibility (see page 123) of the sound of the cannon at Tippecanoe reaching western Illinois, opposite St. Louis.

The author appears to us at his best in the accounts of missions, both in the late seventeenth, early eighteenth, and mid-nineteenth centuries. His sympathies for his co-Jesuits, his careful studies of their contributions to early Western history make this collection of his earlier essays a valuable supplement to what has already been done in this historical field. The book is well printed, has several illustrations and an index.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Louise Phelps Kellogg.

American Jesuits. By James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. ix, 336, $2.50.). Dr. Walsh suggests that because of his association with Jesuits for sixty years, first as a student, then as a member of the Society for six years until ill health compelled his withdrawal, and finally as a professor in Fordham University, he is better qualified to write on the theme of the Jesuits in America than so many who have insisted upon explaining the Jesuits to their fellow men without having known a Jesuit in person. This premise would seem to be true, but the volume in hand adds little or nothing concerning the labors and

accomplishments of the Jesuits which cannot be drawn from a few secondary studies and scattered articles, some of which are referred to in the text. There is no bibliography, and there are practically no footnotes. Dedicated to the American Jesuits, it is a friendly, laudatory volume written in a popular, uncritical, interesting, and informational style. It fails to do the Society of Jesus justice when, for instance, of all its institutions only Georgetown and Fordham universities are described, when its work in the Far West is only touched upon in connection with Pierre De Smet, when the "Jesuit solution of the Indian problem" deals with Sebastian Rasle, and when exaggerated statements are made concerning Jesuit contributions to American development which are important enough to survive an understatement.

The reader who is unfamiliar with the Society in the United States will find here much interesting material in available form upon such topics as the foundation by Ignatius Loyola, the labors of Father Kino (based upon Professor's Bolton's study), religious toleration, Jesuit martyrs of the Iroquois, the *Jesuit Relations,* Father Anthony Kohlmann and the secrecy of the confessional, Charles and John Carroll, the *Ratio studiorum* and Jesuit scientists, chaplains and missionaries. There is a glorification of the Jesuit influence on the Calverts and Governor Dongan if not on Chief Justices Taney and White, and undue stress upon the connection between the Carrolls and the toleration clauses in the Constitution, doubtful as that connection was, and generous emphasis upon the attainments of certain Jesuit trained leaders like William Gaston or Robert Walsh.

The Catholic University of America. RICHARD J. PURCELL.

From Canoe to Steel Barge on the Upper Mississippi. By Mildred L. Hartsough. [Published for the Upper Mississippi Waterway Association.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1934, pp. xviii, 308, $3.50.) This book sketches the history of transportation on the Upper Mississippi from the coming of the white man to 1933. The first nine chapters carry the story to the inauguration of the Federal Barge Line on the Upper Mississippi in 1927. The three remaining chapters—"Can the River Come Back?", "The Breath of Life", and "The Story of Improvements"—are prophetic and controversial rather than historical.

The first chapter is introductory, dealing with the French, Spanish, English, and American explorations in the Mississippi Valley. The next describes the various modes of travel from the canoe to the keelboat—Mike Fink and the bandits of the Ohio and Lower Mississippi receiving disproportionate attention. Chapter III is concerned with the beginnings of steamboating on western waters as revealed in the voyages of the *New Orleans,* the *Enterprise,* the *Washington,* the *Western Engineer,* and the *Virginia.* The next six chapters trace the story from the voyage of the *Virginia* in 1823 to the decline of navigation at the opening of the twenti-

eth century. The chapter headings—"Early Towns and Traffic", "The Golden Age", "The Critical Years", "The Men and Their Boats", "Steamboating as a Business", "Decadence"—indicate the general treatment.

The author seems to have combed the "available authorities" but apparently has done little work in contemporary newspapers and manuscripts. The results are manifested throughout the book, but a few examples must suffice. The author illustrates (p. 183) through "tradition and river lore" how a steamboat might make money: the rich and apparently unused Dousman manuscripts in the Minnesota Historical Society actually reveal their profits and losses. Again, in listing (pp. 57, 67) keelboat arrivals at St. Louis for 1841-1843, the author seems unaware that steamboats had for over a decade towed keelboats during seasons of low water or when a heavy freight of lead was offered. Digressions are all too frequent, especially to recount the oft-told romance of the Ohio and Lower Mississippi. The introduction is contributed by the president of the Upper Mississippi Waterway Association. The book must not be considered a volume of propaganda, however, but rather a careful, well-written survey that should prove both enjoyable and informative to the general reader.

The State Historical Society of Iowa. WILLIAM J. PETERSEN.

Documents relating to the North West Company. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by W. Stewart Wallace, M.A. [The Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1934, pp. xiii, 527.) Many books have been devoted to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, and, although they bear but an insignificant relation to the immense collection of documents in Hudson's Bay House, a large number of journals and other original records have found their way into print. In any event, historical students know that the material for a complete study of every phase of the fur trade, as far as it is exemplified in the more than two and a half centuries' operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, is readily accessible. This cannot be said of the once powerful and aggressive rival of the Gentleman Adventurers known as the North West Company. It is true there have been several books devoted more or less to the history of the Canadian organization, and a number of journals of Nor'-Westers have been published, but the literature does not compare in bulk with that of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the known manuscript records are extraordinarily meager. We may congratulate ourselves, therefore, that, mainly through the courtesy of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, where most of the documents now published were found, Mr. Wallace has been able to bring together in one substantial volume some thirty-two journals or extracts from journals, letters, articles of agreement, reports, minutes of transactions, and other records bearing upon the history and

activities of the North West Company. These are printed in the admirable manner one has learned to associate with publications of the Champlain Society, and Mr. Wallace has added a scholarly and informative introduction and adequate notes as well as, in the form of appendixes, a biographical dictionary of Nor'-Westers and a select bibliography.

Where such a wealth of material is offered, it is impracticable in a brief review to give any adequate idea of the ground covered. The documents range in time from 1772 to 1827—the latter date being several years after the absorption of the North West Company by the Hudson's Bay Company. One finds in them such familiar figures as Alexander Mackenzie and his cousin Roderick, Simon Fraser, David Thompson, Peter Pond, Simon McTavish, William McGillivray, Alexander Henry, and James McGill, the founder of McGill University. Not the least useful part of Mr. Wallace's work is the biographical dictionary, in which he has brought together the results of much painstaking research, and thrown light upon many obscure corners, incidently untangling the bewildering array of Simon Frasers, Alexander Mackenzies, Roderick McKenzies, and other Scots of similar names in the fur trade.

L. J. B.

Archives of British Honduras: being Extracts and Précis taken by a Committee from such Records as exist in the Colony, with Maps. Edited with a Chronology, by the late Major Sir John Alder Burdon, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over the Colony of British Honduras, 1925-1931. Volume II, *From 1801 to 1840.* [Published by Authority of the Governor in Council.] (London, Sifton Praed and Company, 1934, pp. xii, 436, 7*s.* 6*d.*) Volume I of this indispensable guide for the student of British expansion (reviewed here in XXXVIII, 164) covered the period up to 1800. It embraced chiefly manuscript material in London archives as most local records of the time had perished. The present volume, on the other hand, is a digest of papers in the colony itself from 1801 to the establishment of an executive council in 1840 and includes nothing preserved in England. A third volume, promised at an early date, will complete the calendaring of documents actually in British Honduras as of 1931.

The manuscript for the entire work was prepared by the late Governor Burdon and members of his official family in leisure hours with the laudable aim of fostering interest in the romantic past of a singularly neglected possession. Volume I was published at the executive's own expense. Stark tragedy marked the undertaking from that point. On the very day that copy for Volumes II and III had been completed, September 10, 1931, a hurricane claimed the lives of two collaborators and destroyed most of the original papers involved as well as four out of the five sets of sheets which had been prepared. The fifth was providentially saved during a lull in the

storm by Governor Burdon whose lamented death, soon after, grew directly out of the disaster befalling the colony. Publication of Volumes II and III has been made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Institution, and Lady Burdon, already known to specialists in Caribbean history as the compiler of *A Handbook of St. Kitts-Nevis* (London, 1920), has assumed the responsibility of seeing them through the press.

Among the records here covered are minutes of the magistrates' meetings, court judgments, census returns, official dispatches, papers on native relations, and a mass of material on local events. The work assumes peculiar importance because of the fate befalling the originals. It is, in fact, a treasure house of significant information, much of which would have been irretrievably lost but for Sir John's self-sacrificial labors. The workmanship is flawless; the printing and binding leave nothing to be desired. Two old maps and an index add materially to the volume's usefulness.

The George Washington University. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Alexander Porter, Whig Planter of Old Louisiana. By Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Professor of American History, Louisiana State University. [University Studies, XVI.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1934, pp. 154.) Alexander Porter, son of a martyred Presbyterian clergyman of the North of Ireland, migrated as a youth to Nashville, Tennessee, in 1801. There he studied law and was admitted to the bar. Removing to the Attakapas country of Louisiana about 1809, he served his adopted country and state as legislator, judge, and United States senator. A witty and genial Irishman, a self-made scholar, an opulent planter, a nationalistic Whig and a gentleman, he reminds one of his contemporary, William Wirt of Maryland and Virginia.

The author has fitted Porter into his political and social background without overemphasis on either. His disciplined imagination re-creates the scene without submerging the personality of his subject, although those chapters dealing with Porter's senatorial career give little insight into the more personal side of the political picture. This is due to the fact that no collection of the personal papers of Porter came to light, and this phase of his career was necessarily written mainly from the public records. The significance of the book for those not primarily interested in the history of Louisiana would appear to lie in the fact that Porter so well typifies the leaders of the Old South. How many of them were self-made lawyers who attained the upper ranks by becoming planters and politicians! Though an alien by birth and a citizen by adoption, Porter possessed those qualities which the South admired: geniality, liberality, dignity, and probity. These traits made him popular despite the fact that his ideas were aristocratic and that he made no attempt to conceal them. "The truth is", he wrote to a friend, "that our political contests have accustomed the public mind to such

exaggeration, that *nothing* will awaken its attention *on any subject* but the strongest kind of stimulus. Nobody understand[s] this so well as old electioneers, quack Doctors, Patent medicine vendors, & Newspaper Editors."

No attempt has been made to translate Porter from his pleasantly mild, local fame to the national gallery of heroes, nor to throw a magic light over his time and section. The result is a scholarly, satisfying biography of the man who, along with Edward Livingston, was perhaps Louisiana's ablest representative in the Federal Senate before the last decade of the ante bellum period.

The University of Virginia. THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

A Pioneer College: the Story of Marietta. By Arthur G. Beach, Professor of English Literature. (Chicago, Cuneo Press, 1935, pp. xiv, 325, $2.50.) This posthumously published volume was prepared in connection with the centennial of the college. Although located at the seat of the earliest settlement in the Northwest, Marietta yields priority to at least nine other institutions—unless one carries its beginning back to Muskingum Academy, founded in 1797.

The volume is divided into four parts, each covering the history of twenty-five years. Much of the matter is of purely local interest; but the earlier portion of the book has value for students of the cultural history of the early West. Here are moving stories of individual devotion to intellectual and moral ideals, of self-sacrifice to promote the higher interests of the community, such as form a part of the history of every effort to plant civilization in the wilderness. Moreover, the data concerning salaries, living conditions, curricula, and material equipment are typical, and constitute a valuable addition to the resources of the historian of education.

In several respects, however, Marietta was not a typical pioneer college. The community which produced it represented a higher grade of transplanted culture than most frontier settlements. The college was neither church-supported nor did it receive aid from the public. It depended wholly upon its friends, most of whom were residents of the vicinity, although a few of the largest gifts came from Eastern philanthropists. Its founders were deeply religious, but it was from the start nonsectarian, and even refused to take sides in controversial questions such as the slavery issue. President I. W. Andrews, possibly with Oberlin in mind, declared on one occasion that "Marietta offered no inducements to young men to resort hither, arising from any peculiarity or intensity of opinion which her officers may entertain on any of the questions of the day. . . . She has regarded education . . . as her proper work." This policy doubtless accounts for the fact that young Southerners in considerable numbers resorted to this institution in ante bellum days.

Educationally also Marietta was conservative. Said President Andrews: "She has not wasted her energies or jeoparded the interests of her young men by any rash experiments." In harmony with such traditions is the fact that not until the closing years of the nineteenth century did she become coeducational. On the other hand it is to be noted that she was among the first to accord generous recognition to the natural sciences.

The Ohio State University. HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846–1847. By George Rutledge Gibson. Edited by Ralph P. Bieber, Associate Professor of History, Washington University, St. Louis. [The Southwest Historical Series, III.] (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1935, pp. 371, $6.00.) The *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan* is an entertaining and veracious narrative of the conquest of New Mexico and Chihauhau in 1846–1847. The author, George R. Gibson, was a lawyer of Weston, Missouri, who had been influenced to join the expedition against Santa Fe by the enthusiasm for volunteering among his neighbors and by his "nomadic temperament". His journal with its illuminating and substantial introduction by Professor Bieber makes a contribution to the understanding of the bloodless conquest of New Mexico, especially in emphasizing the efforts made by Kearny to spread peace propaganda among the Mexican population. In the pages of Gibson's journal Kearny emerges as an admirable figure, brave and soldierly, yet above all seeking to win the good will of the natives of New Mexico and annex the Southwest without leaving a heritage of bitterness. The Missouri volunteers, on the other hand, were eager for a fight.

The hardships of the long march to Santa Fe were a much more serious foe to the seventeen hundred men of Kearny's command than the opposition of Mexican soldiers. Gibson's journal portrays the Mexicans as a cowardly race who were astonishingly inefficient in the handling of firearms. They had little enthusiasm to resist the invaders, but the Catholic priests stirred them up with atrocity stories. The pictures of Santa Fe and El Paso contained in the journal add color to the social history of the Southwest. A very modern disgust of war occurs in his description of the battlefield of Sacramento after the American victory—"the spectacle next morning was such that no man could help but feel that war was an evil of the worst kind and one which should be avoided if possible".

Professor Bieber deserves high praise for the accuracy and scholarly manner in which he has edited the volume. He has used a wealth of material in supplementing, explaining, and correcting Gibson's narrative. There is only one noticeable omission. The sources from the Mexican side are meager. Perhaps more attention could have been given to the powerful influence of the traders and merchants upon these military campaigns, especially that of Doniphan. Nevertheless this volume of the Southwest Historical

Series is a valuable supplement to Justin Smith's classic treatment of the subject in chapters XIV and XV of the *War With Mexico.*

Lafayette College. CLEMENT EATON.

Kate Chase, Dominant Daughter: the Life Story of a Brilliant Woman and her Famous Father. By Mary Merwin Phelps. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1935, pp. x, 316, $3.00.) Kate Chase Sprague, during the momentous Civil War years, dominated social and political Washington by virtue of her pre-eminent beauty, her father's high position, and her husband's unlimited wealth. Driven by insatiable and unquenchable ambition to make her father, Salmon P. Chase, President of the United States, she played a more significant part in politics than any other woman has played since the days of Dolly Madison. Even Mrs. Lincoln was jealous of Kate Chase's social ascendancy, attained not more by the latter's personal beauty than by her exquisite taste, her Paris gowns, her lavish entertainments, and her love of political intrigue. In the end she met defeat at every point; her portion was dust and ashes.

The one great romance of her life, the friendship, manifested openly, between her and Senator Roscoe Conkling, recoiled on both their heads. No historian of those times can afford to neglect or even to minimize the part this brilliant woman played; and no student of Civil War conditions can fail to be deeply moved by her tragic last days in abject poverty, bravely endured.

Miss Phelps has told the story fully. She has not, perhaps, given due emphasis to Chase's uncompromising stand for freedom and the Union, his great abilities as Secretary of the Treasury and as Chief Justice—qualities which caused the tolerant Lincoln to overlook Chase's glaring defects, due to his ambition to be President. Nor has the author succumbed to the power of Kate's beauty and charm, to which the Washington public so gladly yielded. Perhaps there is over much insistence on the tangled threads on the reverse side of the tapestry. In the midst of so much tragedy the reader longs for touches of the brightness that must have come at times.

The sordid early life of Sprague, which kept his wife out of Providence society in spite of his family wealth, his indulgence of his appetites during his senatorial career, and the disgraceful character of his latter days may be read in and between the lines of the book. The only palliative is his apparently sincere devotion to his father-in-law. Senator Conkling's infatuation and its blighting consequences on his political fortunes are sketched rather than bitten into the picture.

This reviewer, who knew Kate Chase and met Governor Sprague during their separate adverse days, can testify to the essential justness of the author.

C. M.

Autopsy of the Monroe Doctrine: the Strange Story of Inter-American Relations. By Gaston Nerval. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1934,

pp. xi, 357, $3.50.) This book, as its title might easily suggest, is rather the exposition of a thesis than a piece of objective historical writing. Skillful use has been made of much historical material, both source and secondary; but it cannot be said that much that is novel has been presented. M. Nerval lists various counts against the Monroe Doctrine. It was not intended for the benefit of Latin America; it was of little practical effect; it is worn-out and useless; it is a selfish policy; it is inconsistent with true Pan-Americanism; it has been frequently violated; it has been perverted to serve as an instrument of American hegemony, and as an excuse for intervention and the extension of American imperialism; and it is in conflict with the peace machinery erected since the war.

The sober judgment of history must be taken to confirm many of these statements. There can be little doubt that the original message was conceived in terms of American interest, that it accomplished little, and that it did not make it any easier for the United States to enter into the first great effort at Pan-Americanism, the Congress of 1826. It is equally true that the principles of Monroe's pronouncement have been frequently violated, though one might not agree with all the examples cited by M. Nerval. Nor can it be denied that, by an extension or perversion of its original meaning, the Doctrine has been used to justify what critical observers describe as American imperialism.

More doubt exists, however, as to whether the Doctrine is obsolete. Perhaps logically, it might be thought to be of little practical importance today. The states of Latin America seem fairly safe without the protecting arm of the United States; and contemporary Europe can hardly be said to threaten them. But ideas are sometimes very much alive, even though they are illogical; and to the American mind the confused concept of the Monroe Doctrine is no less appealing because it is a matter of faith rather than intelligence. There is, fortunately or unfortunately, a lot of dynamic in the dogma.

With M. Nerval's desire to substitute international action for the unilateral intervention of the United States in the affairs of Latin American states, it is possible to sympathize; but the objective historian may still be permitted to wonder whether, despite Kellogg pacts and League Covenant, the Monroe shibboleth may not still be invoked by American statesmen and publicists, and still furnish a popular justification for more than one act of policy. In this sense, the Doctrine is not yet dead enough for an autopsy.

The University of Rochester. DEXTER PERKINS.

Mobilizing for Chaos: the Story of the New Propaganda. By O. W. Riegel. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1934, pp. 231, $2.50). This is a book which readers will find particularly enlightening upon the much-discussed topics of directed news-gathering and the general censorship of news. For the scholar, it introduces some materials which are not found in

sources commonly investigated; and for the layman it should give wider understanding of the processes and results of news control.

Mr. Riegel deals with the domination of the press by governments in the Far East, Western Europe, and even in America. The radio and other news agencies are not neglected. In fact, there is no more vital problem, touching international relations, than the grip of modern governments upon the presentation and dissemination of the news, and so upon public opinion. The author is not given to sensationalism, but he shows how statesmen, dictators, and even organizations such as the League of Nations, designed for international accord, are playing similar roles in the establishment of attitudes throughout the world, by means so subtle that it is often difficult for the average citizen to recognize them. In our own country, although the press retains considerable liberty and jealously attacks suspected encroachments upon it, a similar situation prevails. Here, Mr. Riegel suggests that any concentration and regimentation in political and economic life may be expected to react in the realm of communication. "The process", says Mr. Riegel, "has already begun to operate in the field of physical equipment for communications with the appointment of a federal communications commission and the proposal of consolidation under government regulation. This characteristic New Deal policy is not itself likely to impair the freedom of the press, but it is symptomatic of profound changes in political organizations which eventually may exert a very strong regulatory influence upon the propagation of information" (p. 212).

The book is written in a readable, clear-cut fashion, somewhat journalistic in manner. A section devoted to notes is particularly pleasing to one who desires always to know the sources of information even if they be secondary. It is regretted that Mr. Riegel did not extend his explorations into other realms of propaganda dissemination which he might have tied up with the influences generated through press control. The book closes with a warning that if public opinion persists in the abandonment of democratic theories human intelligence will inevitably be enchained through the method which today we frequently speak of in disparaging tones as propaganda.

The University of Chicago. Bessie Louise Pierce.

COMMUNICATION

The Editor of the *American Historical Review*:

In his review of *The New Haven Colony* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1935, pp. 155–156), Mr. Morison says: "Harvard did not secure the lion's share of the Hopkins bequest because Yale was 'insignificant' (p. 144), but because Harvard was able to satisfy a Master in Chancery that 'colledge' mentioned in Hopkins's will in 1657 could not mean an institution founded in 1701. A college where Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Edwards had their education cannot be dismissed as insignificant." Mr. Morison seems to imply that the court of chancery awarded the £500 from Hopkins's English estate to Harvard College and ignored Yale College because the former institution existed at the date of Hopkins's will, the latter did not. I should like to indicate the fallacies in this implication.

By a will made in 1657 Edward Hopkins left his estate in New England, after the payment of debts and certain legacies, and £500 from his estate in England after the death of his wife, to Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport of New Haven and John Cullick and William Goodwin of Hartford, "to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths in a way of learning, both at the grammar school and college, for the public service of the country in future times". Theophilus Eaton died in 1658, and Cullick, in 1663. The surviving trustees assigned £100 from Hopkins's estate in New England to Harvard College and apportioned the balance, not among already existing schools, but to further grammar school and college education in the New Haven Colony, the town of Hadley, to which Cullick and Goodwin had removed from Hartford, and the town of Hartford, for only on condition that the last named town share in the bequest would Connecticut release the estate within its limits. Turning their attention to the £500 expected from England after Anne Hopkins's death, the trustees assigned a half interest to New Haven, an additional £100 to Harvard College, and the balance to the town of Hadley. In 1668, after the New Haven Colony had ceased to exist, John Davenport assigned the colony's share in Hopkins's estate in New England and a half interest in Hopkins's estate in England to a self-perpetuating group of trustees for the maintenance of a grammar school or college in the town of New Haven.

Despite educational efforts in the three towns, and a long-continued effort to found a college at New Haven, results were slight. The grammar school at New Haven was often called a college but it never merited the title, and it was not until 1701 that a "Collegiate School" actually came into existence in Connecticut. Starting off at Saybrook, in 1716 the trustees of this school voted to erect a college and a rector's house at New Haven, but even after this decision factions struggled to locate the institution at Saybrook, New Haven, and Hartford, and the students were divided among Saybrook, New Haven, and Wethersfield. Although Samuel Johnson was a student at Saybrook and a youthful tutor at New Haven and Jonathan Edwards was a student at New Haven and Wethersfield, in England in the second decade of the eighteenth century the existence of an institution of higher learning in Connecticut might well have been doubted.

Anne Hopkins died in 1698 and the Hopkins estate in England became available for distribution. Ten years later the £500 to be expended upon grammar school and college education lay undisposed of. Learning of the bequest, in 1709 the president and fellows of Harvard College decided that Hopkins had intended to benefit "our Colledge", and appointed Henry Newman their agent to secure the money. To strengthen their case, they offered to expend some of the bequest upon grammar school education. Urged on by Newman, the court of chancery finally awarded the £500, not to the grammar schools at New Haven and Hadley, or to the college beginning to take form in Connecticut, but to the college and grammar school at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. For the pains he had taken to secure this plum, Newman was rewarded by Harvard College. Without having seen the documents in the lawsuit and the award, the writer believes that the decision resulted, not from the desire of the testator to benefit institutions in existence in 1657 in general or Harvard College in particular, but from the paucity of results from the money already expended in New Haven, Hadley, and Hartford, the insignificance of the college at New Haven, and the long-continued efforts on the part of Harvard College to secure the £500. Had it been Hopkins's intention to benefit Massachusetts and Harvard College, he would have included men from the Bay Colony among the trustees named in the will, and mentioned Harvard College by name.

Isabel M. Calder.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The fourth quinquennial Anglo-American Historical Conference will be held in London on July 6-11, 1936, at the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London. The following sections have been established: Medieval history, chairman, Professor F. M. Stenton, Reading; Diplomatic history, chairman, Professor C. K. Webster, London; History of Parliamentary Institutions, chairman, Dr. A. F. Pollard, London; Economic history, chairman, Professor J. H. Clapham, Cambridge; British Colonial history, chairman, Professor Sir Herbert Richmond, Cambridge; British Local history, chairman, Professor A. Hamilton Thompson, Leeds; Slavonic history, chairman, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson; Historical Relations between Europe and the American Continents, chairman, Professor H. Hale Bellot, London; Oriental history (if sufficient demand is shown), chairman, Professor H. H. Dodwell, London. Plans are being made for attractive excursions during and after the conference, which promises to be as interesting, scientifically, and as delightful, socially, as its predecessors. Information respecting the conference may be had from the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, or from Waldo G. Leland, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., an American member of the Committee.

The seventeenth annual meeting of the Union Académique Internationale, with which the American Historical Association is affiliated through the American Council of Learned Societies, will be held in Brussels on May 11-14. It is expected that at this meeting the German and Austrian academies will be represented for the first time.

The next general assembly of the International Committee of Historical Sciences will be held, circumstances permitting, in Bucharest on April 13-18. The assembly announced for this last summer at Prague was not held.

PERSONAL

Louis O'Brien, assistant professor of European history and assistant dean of undergraduates at the University of California, died on September 6 at the age of 33. He took his first degree at the University of California and his doctorate at Columbia (1927). He was the author of *Innocent XI and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (1930). An excellent scholar and a vigorous and inspiring teacher, his death has taken from the historical profession a man of unusual promise.

Frank Hugh Foster, church historian, died on October 20 at the age of 84. A member of the class of 1873 at Harvard he received his doctor's degree at Leipzig in 1882. Two years later he became professor of Church history at Oberlin Theological Seminary. In 1892 he went to Pacific Seminary to teach Systematic Theology, and there he spent ten years. From 1907 to 1916 he was professor of history and philosophy at Olivet College. His later years were spent in Oberlin.

Clarence Winthrop Bowen, one of the founders of the American Historical Association and for thirty-three years its treasurer, died on November 2 at the age of 83. He was a member of the class of 1873 at Yale, where he also received his doctor's degree in 1882. He began his career as a newspaper correspondent. In 1874 he joined the staff of the *Independent,* of which his father was the proprietor and publisher. He succeeded to his father's position in 1896 and remained in charge of the paper until 1912. His service to several historical societies was notable, especially to the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society and to the American Historical Association. When in 1917 he declined re-election as treasurer of the latter, the Executive Council, in its resolutions of regret, referred to Dr. Bowen's unselfish labors for the Association and remarked that "zeal and caution have been happily blended in his management of fiscal affairs and in his judgments of the general policy of the organization", and added that the members of the Council would greatly miss "his faithful exhortations to economy, as well as his sympathetic approval of progress". Eight years before, in a review of the first twenty-five years of the work of the Association, Dr. Jameson had said in the *American Historical Review* that "no one who has watched the budgets of the Association, has seen the steady and remarkable growth of its resources, and can appreciate the labor involved in twenty-five years' tenure of such an office, could withhold the expression of gratitude for so generous a service, and for so thoughtful and effective a care of the Association's finances". Dr. Bowen was present at all except one of the meetings during that quarter century. No one will forget the warmth of his greetings even to those with whom he had only a passing acquaintance. Of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society he was president from 1907 to 1931. To him that society owed much of the success in obtaining an endowment as well as funds for the erection of its building on East Fifty-eighth Street. His deep interest in genealogy was shown by his monumental *History of Woodstock* (Conn.), the sixth volume of which was published in 1935. So far as the record of Woodstock families is concerned this volume carries it through the letter H. It is understood that Dr. Bowen made provision for the completion of the work.

Grant Showerman, a distinguished classicist, died on November 13 at

the age of 65. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1896, where also four years later he gained his doctorate. He was at once appointed to a professorship which he held until his death. In the historical field he is known especially for his *Eternal Rome* (1924). His *Monuments and Men of Ancient Rome* appeared only last fall.

Frederic Lincoln Thompson, professor of history at Amherst College, died on November 19 at the age of 66. Professor Thompson was graduated from Amherst in 1892. He later studied at the University of Paris and at Harvard University. He had been a professor at Amherst since 1907.

James Field Willard, distinguished medievalist and professor of history at the University of Colorado, died on November 21 at the age of 58. He was a member of the class of 1898 at the University of Pennsylvania, where he also took his doctorate four years later. He held fellowships there and at the University of Wisconsin. His teaching at the University of Colorado began in 1906, and the next year he became head of the department of history. Dr. Willard's main researches were in the fields of fourteenth century English institutions and the history of Colorado. He was editor of the *University of Colorado Historical Collections,* of the annual bulletin on *The Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States,* of *The Union Colony at Greeley, Colorado, 1869-1871* (1918), *Surrey Taxation Returns, Surrey Record Society* (1922). With C. B. Goodykoontz he edited *Experiments in Colorado Colonization, 1869-1872* (1926) and *The Trans-Mississippi West* (1930). With J. Baxter and C. Johnson he was joint editor of *An Index of British and Irish Latin Writers, A. D. 400-1520* (1932). He was author of *The Royal Authority and the Early English Universities* (1902), and, his magnum opus, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290-1334: a Study in Medieval English Financial Administration* (1934). He initiated and promoted the collection of the sources of Colorado and Rocky Mountain history now housed at the University of Colorado. He compiled the *Report on the Public Archives of Colorado,* and the *Report on the Archives of the State of Wyoming.* He contributed many articles to American and British journals. He was given many honors and responsibilities, such as chairman of the committee on *The Dictionary of Late Medieval British Latin,* fellow and member of the council of the Mediaeval Academy of America, member of the Council of the American Historical Association (since December, 1933), honorary vice-president of the Royal Historical Society in 1934. While in England in 1931–1933, by virtue of a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, he was in charge of a co-operative study, *The English Government at Work, 1327-1336.* During the summer of 1935 he made a full study of the manuscripts of Battle Abbey, in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California.

C. C. E.

James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, eminent archaeologist and historian, died on December 2 at the age of 70. After completing his undergraduate course at North Central College in 1888 he studied for two years at Chicago Theological Seminary. He then went to New Haven, attracted by the renascence of Semitic studies at Yale under the influence of William R. Harper. In 1891, Dr. Harper, already planning for a new University of Chicago, and hearing young Breasted say how deeply he was interested in Egyptology, urged him to seek in Europe the best available training, with the promise of a position in Chicago. Breasted at once proceeded to Berlin, where he won his doctorate in 1894. His work was so distinguished that he was soon commissioned by the royal academies of Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, and Göttingen to copy and arrange the Egyptian inscriptions preserved in the museums of Europe for the Berlin Egyptian Dictionary. Dr. Breasted's first archaeological expedition to Egypt took place in 1894. In that year too his work began at the University of Chicago. He was also appointed assistant director of the Haskell Oriental Museum. His promotion was rapid. From 1905 to 1933 he was professor of Egyptology and Oriental history. In 1919 he became director of the new Oriental Institute. In 1925 in order that he might devote all his attention to the work of the Institute, both in Chicago and in the Near East, he was relieved of duties as a teacher. The search for all existing remains of ancient Oriental civilization he termed a "New Crusade". He gained generous support for his great enterprises from philanthropists, especially Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr. It was a dramatic moment in December, 1929, when as president of the American Historical Association he announced to the members assembled in their annual meeting that he had been assured of gifts and endowments of nearly ten million dollars, in order to place the work of the Oriental Institute upon a more permanent foundation and to further the tasks of excavation at many historic locations in the Near East. Dr. Breasted was a historian as well as an investigator and director. Among his notable books were *A History of Egypt* (1905, 2d ed., 1909, rev., 1912), *Ancient Records of Egypt* (*5 vols.*, 1906-1907), and the *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (2 vols., 1930). His latest book was *The Dawn of Conscience* (1933). He was also a successful writer of school and college textbooks on Ancient history. He received many honors from universities and societies in this country and abroad. His most signal claim to remembrance is his leadership among the scholars who within a generation have renewed the history of the Ancient East.

Jules Gay (1867-1935), professor of Medieval history at the University of Lille, died on August 31. He was one of the most learned Byzantinists of his time. His major thesis for the doctorate of letters was

L'Italie méridionale de l'Empire byzantin (1904). His complementary thesis was almost equally important, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (1908). He worked many years upon the edition of the *Registres du pape Nicolas III,* completed only by the close of his life. Another work of interest was *Les papes du XI^e^ siècle et la chrétienté.*

Henri Pirenne, the distinguished Belgian historian, died on October 24 at the age of 75. He was much beloved in this country where students who worked under his guidance at the University of Ghent cherish his memory. In 1915 he was deported by the Germans and held a prisoner. During the following year Princeton University appointed him a lecturer in history, hoping that Kaiser Wilhelm might be prevailed upon to permit his release. It was only in 1922 that he came to Princeton and delivered a course of lectures on the "Origin of Cities in Western Europe", some of which he repeated at other universities. They formed the basis of a volume published three years later. His principal work was his *Histoire de Belgique* in seven volumes (1900-1932). The first volume has already reached a fifth edition. Another work especially useful to scholars was his *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Belgique: Catalogue méthodique et chronologique des sources et des ouvrages principaux relatifs à l'histoire de tous les Pays-Bas jusqu'en 1598 et à l'histoire de Belgique jusqu'en 1830,* of which the third edition appeared in 1931. In 1926 his colleagues, friends, and former students offered him as a tribute of respect two volumes of *Mélanges.* Among the contributors were five American scholars.

Dr. Dumas Malone has been appointed director of the Harvard University Press. He will assume full responsibility in July, when it is expected that the editorial work on the *Dictionary of American Biography* will have been completed. Meanwhile he will divide his time, but will spend most of it in Washington, directing the preparation of volumes XIX and XX of the *Dictionary* for publication.

Dr. George P. Hammond, formerly of the University of Southern California, has become head of the Department of History and dean of the Graduate School at the University of New Mexico.

Dr. B. I. Wiley, State Teachers College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, has received the Mrs. Simon Baruch Prize of $1000, awarded by the United Daughters of the Confederacy. His essay was entitled "The Southern Negro during the War of Secession".

M. Georges Lefebvre, president of the Société des Études robespierristes, recently of the faculty of the University of Strasbourg, has been called to a professorship at the Sorbonne. He is director, it will be remembered, of the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française.*

GENERAL

General review: George Espinas, *Histoire urbaine: Directions de recherches et résultats* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., July); A. Florovskij, *Gegenstand und Inhalt der "Geschichte Russlands" oder der "russischen Geschichte"* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., 1935, no. 3); Louis Laurens, *L'histoire de la pharmacie, de la chirurgie et de la biologie* (Rev. Hist., July).

The autumn of 1935 has been marked by the widespread observance of the fourth centennial of the printing of the first complete English Bible, through sermons, lectures, and local exhibitions. We here call attention to two exhibits admirably complementary to each other. Of these the first was arranged by the John Rylands Library of Manchester, England, and is described in its *Catalogue of an Exhibition illustrating the History of the Transmission of the Bible* (Manchester University Press, pp. xiii, 112). This catalogue, largely the work of its librarian, Dr. Henry Guppy, lists the volumes displayed, with the usual data, and presents brief descriptive and historical information, useful for comparative studies. A very valuable fifty-eight page "Introductory Sketch of the History of the Transmission of the Bible" is interspersed with illustrations, chiefly facsimiles from some of the eighty-eight items on view. These were distributed in ten cases, the first six holding pre-Coverdale and the last three post-Coverdale materials, just five eighths of the items belonging to the former category. The central feature of the exhibition was naturally the collection of nine Coverdale copies, including probably the first two to pass through the press in 1535. In the case with these were two from the 1537 edition, one from 1550, and four Coverdale New Testaments, all 1538, three being diglots (Latin and English). The second exhibit was made by the Library of Congress. Its motif was rather to illustrate varying influences, especially cultural, which came from the diffusion of the Bible especially in the English-speaking world. The pre-Coverdale material began with a fragment of fourth century papyri; it included a Syriac manuscript of the Pesshito, two Latin manuscript Bibles from the fourteenth century, and a leaf from a Slavic Bible (fifteenth century). It continued into the era of printing, important items being two German Bibles (1470? and 1476), first editions (Hebrew) of the Psalms (1477) and of the Pentateuch (1482), and of the Septuagint (1518), the first printed Bible in Switzerland (1468?) and the first edition of the complete French Bible, 1530. The three volume Gutenberg Bible (Latin, 1454), the supreme printed treasure of the Library of Congress, may be considered a part of this exhibit, for the first case of the latter was appropriately placed adjacent to the 'shrine' in which that *primus* is constantly displayed. The lack of an original Coverdale, for which only Bagster's 1835 reprint could be substituted, made more relevant the inclusion of the first printed Protestant French version, also of

1535. There followed a very representative display of examples of most of the outstanding Bibles in English of the sixteenth century up to the first edition (folio) of the King James version (1611) and the quarto of the same (1612). Numerous editions in other languages were shown, including John Eliot's famous Indian Bible, designated "the first example of a Bible translated into a new language for the purpose of evangelizing". The Manchester exhibit ended with the Westminster Revision of fifty years ago, while the Washington display included very recent English versions and was brought literally up to date with two of the three volumes of the Bruce Rogers's "Oxford Lectern Bible", 1935. It included some literary works motivated largely from the English Bible, such as Paradise Lost and Pilgrim's Progress, with some engravings and musical scores expressive of Biblical themes. It was correlated somewhat with our national spirit by the inclusion of several 'association' volumes, as Bibles used by George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, and a few autograph manuscripts by these and other statesmen commendatory of the influence of the Bible in the life of the people. W. H. A.

The *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences,* covering the year 1933, has been published and may be had from the H. W. Wilson Company. This is the seventh annual volume to be published by the International Committee of Historical Sciences, but it is vol. VIII of the series which commences with 1926, since the volume for 1931 has not yet been issued but is announced for April, 1936. With its appearance, the undertaking will reach the stage where the annual volumes may be expected to appear with considerable regularity about a year or eighteen months after the end of the years to which they respectively relate. The present volume contains 6348 items, contributed by over fifty collaborators from twenty-three countries and conveniently arranged in nineteen principal chapters covering the history of the entire world from prehistoric times. The American collaborators are Professors William H. Allison, W. Stull Holt, and Lowell J. Ragatz.

Bulletin no. 27 (June, 1935), of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, has appeared. It contains the proceedings of the general assembly of the committee held in Paris in 1934, including the reports of the various subcommittees and the proceedings of the Second International Conference for the Teaching of History, held at Basel in June, 1934.

The Social Science Research Council has announced the award of eight pre-doctoral fellowships for graduate study. These fellowships provide one thousand dollars and tuition charges, and are designed to aid exceptionally promising students of the social sciences to obtain research training beginning with the first year of graduate study. Fellows are required to devote their full time to graduate study, in some other institution than that in

which they received their undergraduate training. The fellowships will be offered again for the academic year 1936-1937. The closing date for the receipt of applications on blanks to be secured from the Fellowship Secretary is March 15, 1936. Inquiries should be addressed to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York City. Each candidate must submit a letter from the chairman of the department in which he has pursued his major undergraduate study, in support of his application, before blanks will be sent to him. The first appointment in the field of history is C. Lowell Harriss, B.S., of Harvard University, for study in history at Columbia University. It may be added that applications for the grants-in-aid of research, which the council is continuing, must be filed not later than January 15.

The *Huntington Library Bulletin* for October (Harvard University Press, pp. 175) is devoted principally to the field of literature. The opening essay, by Professor R. W. Chambers, visiting scholar, professor of English Language and Literature, University of London, has as its subject "The Manuscripts of *Piers Plowman* in the Huntington Library, and their Value for fixing the Text of the Poem". The "Notes" belong to the historical field. The first is a collection of "Letters of Henry St. John to James Brydges" from October 1, 1706, to May 31, 1712. They are transcribed and edited by Godfrey Davies and Marion Tinling. The second "Note" is contributed by Professor John C. Parish and contains a letter by James Gadsden embodying "A Project for a California Slave Colony in 1851".

The first number of the new *Journal of Social Philosophy* (October) opens with an editorial announcement of the aims of this quarterly. There follow two articles and a symposium. The symposium, to which four contribute, deals with Pareto's significance. The articles are: "The Place of Economics in Social Philosophy", by John R. Commons; "Education and Social Change", by I. L. Kandel. The number closes with a few reviews, prefaced by the remark that the editors intend to develop this section.

Supplement Number 6 (covering 1934) to the "Guide to the Historical Publications of the Societies of England and Wales" appears with the November issue of the *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research. Incidentally the announcement is made that the "Guide", which covers publications up to December 31, 1928, is approaching completion.

With the production at accentuated speed of documentary material on governmental agencies of all sorts, the greater becomes the need of manuals like the *Students Guide to Materials in Political Science* (New York, Holt, pp. v, 426, $3.00), prepared by Dr. Laverne Burchfield under the direction of a committee of the American Political Science Association. Here the researcher may learn the various "Finding devices". He will see under each general head what the documents are and what indexes are available. In the case of a particular type of material, for example Congressional "Committee

Hearings", which are often a mine of information about the practices of the American business man and corporation official, the student will learn which are in the "Documents" series of government publications and where an index to all may be found. The volume itself does not offer full lists of books on the different aspects of government, but one of its most frequent subheads is this, "Bibliographies and Works carrying Bibliography".

The Pan American Institute of Geography and History held its Second General Assembly in Washington, during the week of October 14-19. Most of the sessions were held at the Pan American Union. Among the notable papers on the program were "A New Chapter in Pan American Cartography", by Dr. Isaiah Bowman, "The Geographic Importance of the Volcanic Axis", by Dr. Pedro C. Sánchez, the director of the institute, "The Development of Maya Research", by Dr. A. V. Kidder, "Geography and History among the Sciences", by Dr. John C. Merriam, and "Sources of American History in Spanish Archives", by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill.

Those who do not feel sure that the last word has been said about the nature and aims of history will find some lively, perhaps illuminating, comments in *Über die Aufgaben des Historikers*[1] (Tübingen, Mohr, pp. 31, 1.50 M.), by Johannes Haller, professor emeritus of history at the University of Tübingen. It was delivered as an address before the historical society of Münster. Professor Haller is not one of those who regard the effort for an objective treatment of historical phenomena as futile. He recognizes the subjective elements always present, but remarks: "Ist uns die volle Objektivität versagt, so soll der Wille zur Objektivität um so stärker, das Streben nach ihr um so unverdrossener sein". On the other hand he has this to say of the schemes of imposing upon historical phenomena a philosophical framework: "Im Grunde sind alle Bemühungen in dieser Richtung nur Nachklänge oder Spiegelungen der christlichen Glaubenslehre, die den Heilsplan Gottes zu kennen und in der Geschichte der Menschheit wiederzuerkennen behauptete. An die Stelle des göttlichen Planes wurde seit den Tagen der Aufklärung ein natürlicher gesetzt, die Rolle der Vorsehung musste das Gesetz übernehmen, und so verrät sich all Geschichtsphilosophie, sei sie optimistisch oder pessimistisch, als getarnte Dogmatik."

Students who expect to work in the German, especially the Prussian archives will be greatly assisted by Heinrich Otto Meisner's *Aktenkunde: Ein Handbuch für Archivbenutzer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Brandenburg-Preussens* (Berlin, Mittler, pp. 186, 9 M.).

The John Rylands Library, Manchester (Manchester University Press, pp. x, 106), by Dr. Henry Guppy, the librarian, tells the story of a great collection, which was founded in 1899, describes its treasures, and presents sixty views and facsimiles. The volume opens with an account of John

[1] All publications bear the date of 1935 unless otherwise indicated.

Rylands, whose extraordinary successes in business made possible the wise philanthropies of his wife. What Dr. Guppy characterizes as the "most splendid part" of the collection is the Althorp Library, purchased by Mrs. Rylands several years before the plans for the new library were completed. Many English scholars were afraid that the Althorp Library, for which Mrs. Rylands paid about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was destined to cross the seas as had many other collections. In 1901 the Rylands Library was enriched by the acquisition of the Earl of Crawford's collection of manuscripts, many of them beautifully illuminated, six thousand items in all. Dr. Guppy has devoted most of the volume to a description of the rarities that give the library its unique position. Another publication of the library is a *Hand-List of Charters, Deeds, and Similar Documents, in Possession of the John Rylands Library,* compiled by Dr. Moses Tyson, keeper of Western Manuscripts, from the lists which have appeared from time to time in the library bulletins.

Vol. XCI of the Chetham Society's new series is entitled *Lancashire Deeds,* vol. I, *Shuttleworth Deeds,* part I, of which Colonel John Parker, C.B., F.S.A., is the editor. The muniments of Gawthorpe have been placed at the disposition of the society by Lord Shuttleworth, and of these only the Eccleshill, Barton, and High Whitaker deeds are embodied in the present volume. The will of Thomas Shuttleworth is printed in an appendix. Besides the general index there is an index of persons and places.

The *Preussische Jahrbücher,* which has had a distinguished history since its foundation in 1858 by Rudolf Haym, Heinrich von Treitschke, and Hans Delbrück, has regrettably suspended publication. In the final number (June), the editor, Walter Heynen, promises, however, a continuance of the series of monographs entitled Schriftenreihe der Preussischen Jahrbücher.

The *Chaire Gabriel Hanotaux* has been founded at the French Institut des études américaines. The incumbent will be changed every year and a different nation be considered. The first appointee for 1935–1936 is Professor Paul Rivet whose subject is "Les origines et la civilisation américaine avant Christophe Colomb".

The volume entitled *Essays in Social Economics in Honor of Jessica Blanche Peixotto* (University of California Press, pp. 363, $2.00) is a tribute from friends and former students. It opens with an appreciative sketch of Professor Peixotto's career, by Professor H. R. Hatfield. The essays are concerned with social problems chiefly. Two deal with social reformers and their intellectual approach: "John Ruskin—John A. Hobson" and "The Problem of Social Investigation—the Method of Sidney and Beatrice Webb".

The manual entitled *Teaching the Social Studies in Secondary Schools* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, pp. xv, 417, $3.00), by Dr. Arthur C. Bining, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. David H. Bining, of the Ridley

Park High School, is intended chiefly for use in teacher-training institutions, but because of its clear account of all the recent developments in secondary instruction will be of great practical use to the working teachers. In controversial matters the authors seek to present in a sympathetic spirit the significant ideas and plans that are advocated.

Articles: F. M. Powicke, *The Study of History in the Universities of Great Britain* (History, Sept.); André Ravry, *La presse et l'histoire: Pologne, Egypte, Arménie* (Rev. Ques. Hist., July); Lucy Stuart Sutherland, *The Use of Business Records in the Study of History* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.); Richard Hartshorne, *Recent Developments in Political Geography* [I] (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Oct.); Hans Hirsch, *Das österreichische Institut für Geschichtsforschung, 1854-1934* (Mitteil. Österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLIX, nos. 1-2); G .W. Wright, *Burials in Westminster Abbey* (Notes and Queries, July 3-Aug. 17); Hilary P. Mead, *The British Merchant Jack* (Mariner's Mirror, Oct.); James Hornell, *Constructional Parallels in Scandinavian and Oceanic Boat Construction* (*ibid.*); Laurence M. Larson, *Problems of the Norwegian Church in the Eleventh Century* (Church Hist., 1935, Sept.); Ludvig Stavenow, *Sveriges riksdag, et jubileum och en jubileumsskrift* (Hist. Tidsskr., 1935, no. 2); Carl Arvid Hessler, *Den svenska ståndsriksdagen* [the Swedish council of lords] (Scandia, 1935, Aug.); Lis Jacobsen, *Runeindskrifternes Vidnesbyrd om Kampene omkring Hedeby* [information from runic inscriptions as to warfare about Hedeby] (*ibid.*); K. A. Wittfogel, *The Foundations and Stages of Chinese Economic History* (Zeitsch. f. Sozialf., 1935, no. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

A bibliography of Graeco-Roman Egypt for 1934 appears in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for September. Several scholars review publications of papyri, M. N. Tod reviews the inscriptions, and De Lacy O'Leary materials of Christian date.

Among excavation reports and publications of new documents we may note the archaeological report on the Near East, by H. Dubberstein, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for October; the report on excavations in Nubia, by O. Davies, in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XXI, nos. 1-2; L. H. Vincent on Palestinian excavations in the *Revue Biblique* for October; "Inscriptions of Colophon", by B. D. Meritt, in the *American Journal of Philology* for October; A. E. R. Boak on a petition addressed to Apollonius, strategos of Heptakomia, P. Mich. Inv. 6629, and E. Visser on letters and documents in the Berlin collection of papyri, in *Aegyptus* for September; reports on the season of 1934-1935 at Dura, by C. Hopkins, on a trip to Caria, by L. Robert, and news items from Athens, by E. P. Blegen, in the *American Journal of Archaeology* for September; W. Telfer on a recently discovered inscription of an Arab veteran, in the *Journal*

of Roman Studies, XXV, no. 1; P. K. Baillie Reynolds on the "Römisch-germanische Kommission", in *Antiquity* for September; and F. G. Simpson and I. A. Richmond on the turf wall of Hadrian, 1895–1935, in the *Journal of Roman Studies,* XXV, no. 1.

Contributions to the criticism of historical sources are made in M. Gelzer's article in *Hermes* for September on the credibility of the decrees of the senate preserved in Livy regarding Roman levies of troops, and in that of F. R. B. Godolphin (in the *American Journal of Philology* for October) on the source of Plutarch's thesis in the Lives of Galba and Otho.

Of special interest to students of economics are articles by M. I. Finkelstein in *Classical Philology* for October on "Emporos, Naukleros, and Kapelos": prolegomena to the study of Athenian trade; by Tenney Frank in the *American Journal of Philology* for October on the financial crisis of 33 A. D.; and by A. Piganiol in the *Revue historique* for August on the "capitatio" of Diocletian.

On classical institutions and law, note B. D. Meritt on some details of the Athenian constitution in the *American Journal of Philology* for October; A. Diller on scrutiny and appeal in Athenian citizenship in *Classical Philology* for October; and F. De Zulueta on the new fragments of Gaius: "Societas ercto non cito" in the *Journal of Roman Studies,* XXV, no. 1.

Students of the late Roman Empire will be interested in the conclusions regarding the development of the position of the "princeps" which A. Alföldi draws from a detailed study of the insignia and dress of the emperor published in *Römische Mitteilungen,* L., nos. 1-2.

The Ancient World, by T. R. Glover (Macmillan, $2.50), has been well termed 'a beginning' by the author in his subtitle; for although it is not a discontinuous group of essays and follows for the most part a chronological scheme the treatment of many topics is somewhat slight and the whole is not sufficiently comprehensive to serve as a satisfactory textbook. Many of the more important moments and movements, however, of Greek and Roman history are here sketched with firm outlines and are charmingly presented with interesting illustrative material and a goodly number of illuminating and amusing comments by the way. One can be confident that a young student or a layman after reading this book will want to carry his study further.

Mr. Cyril E. Robinson, assistant master at Winchester College, has added to his interesting series of texts *A History of Rome, from 753 B. C. to A. D. 410* (Crowell, pp. xi, 456, $3.50). There are twenty-four plates and nineteen maps.

One of the new volumes in the Collection Armand Colin is *Le Monde égéen avant les Grecs* (1934, pp. 206, 10 fr. 50), by Pierre Waltz, professor

in the Faculté des lettres of the University of Clermont-Ferrand. So much has been accomplished in this field in the last three decades that the author has taken as his principal task the exposition of the present state of knowledge. He pays tribute to the value as a guide of the *Civilisation égéenne* of the late Gustave Glotz, but indicates that many important conclusions have been reached since that appeared. To another Colin series, "Ames et Visages", has been added a volume on Gengis-Khan (pp. 206, 18 fr.), by Fernard Grenard, well known for his writings on Asiatic subjects.

Among the essays in vol. XII, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* are: "The Origins of the *Insulae* at Ostia", by Philip Harsh; "The Archaeological Evidence for the 'Tuscan Temple'", by Agnes Kirsopp Lake; and "The House of Marcus Loreius Tiburtinus at Pompeii", restoration by Thomas D. Price, text by A. W. Van Buren.

Vol. IV of *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch historisch Instituut te Rome* [Uitgegeven vanwege het Department van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen] (The Hague, Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1934, pp. lvii, 182) opens with a very interesting annual report by the director of the institute, Dr. G. J. Hoogewerff, who describes the festivities during the dedication of the lovely new building in the Valle Giulia. There are also four other reports covering various historical, artistic, and archaeological activities; and these in turn are followed by seven learned articles with numerous illustrations. The first article presents a very full description of the Vase of the Mowers, discovered in 1902 in the older palace of Hagia Triada on the island of Crete. The second shows how even in historical times stone tools were used in the Gargano region in southern Italy. The third discusses the illustrations in the manuscripts containing the works of Terence. The remaining contributions cover subjects of less importance to the American reader. A. H.

Articles: N. F. Wheeler, *Pyramid Mysticism and Mystification* (Antiquity, Sept.); R. Weill, *The Problem of the Site of Avaris* (Jour. Egypt. Arch., Sept.); E. Cavaignac, *L'histoire politique de l'Orient de 1340 à 1230: Succession des événements* (Rev. Hittite et Asianique, July); H. Hochholzer, *Historische Kulturgeographie des grossgriechischen Sizilien* (Klio, XVIII, nos. 1-2); M. P. Nilsson, *Early Orphism and Kindred Religious Movements* (Harvard Theolog. Rev., July); F. Miltner, *Die Meerengenfrage in der griechischen Geschichte* (Klio, XVIII, nos. 1-2); E. Cavaignac, *L'augmentation du tribut des alliés d'Athènes en 425* (Rev. Études Grec., June); M. Cary, *Arthmius of Zeleia* (Class. Quar., Oct.); A. Wilhelm, *Diodorus XIX, 45* (Rhein. Mus., LXXXIV, no. 3); F. M. Abel, *La Syrie et la Palestine au temps de Ptolemée Ier Soter* (Rev. Bibl., Oct.); W. Foerster, *Der Ursprung der Pharasäismus* (Zeitsch. Neutestament. Wissensch., XXXIV, nos. 1-2); C. F. Edson, jr., *Perseus and Demetrius* (Harvard Stud. Class. Philol.,

XLVI); E. T. Salmon, *Catiline, Crassus, Caesar* (Am. Jour. Philol., Oct.); E. Swoboda, *Zur Occupation Noricums* (Klio, XVIII, nos. 1-2); E. Hohl, *Primum Facinus Novi Principatus* (Hermes, Sept.); J. Lingle, *Zum Process Jesu (ibid.);* T. D. Pryce and E. Birley, *The First Roman Occupation of Scotland* (Jour. Rom. Stud., XXV, no. 1); R. H. Harte, *The Praetorship of the Younger Pliny (ibid.);* H. Mattingly, *The Reign of Aemilian: a Chronological Note (ibid.);* J. H. D. Buxton, *The Racial Affinities of the Romano-Britons (ibid.);* J. J. Van Nostrand, *Two Notes on the Mines of Roman Spain* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); J. Lebon, *Altération doctrinale de la Lettre à Épictète de saint Athanase* (Rev. Hist. Ecclés., Oct.).

T. R. S. B.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Isis for September includes (pp. 488-627) the Forty-second Critical Bibliography, to end of November, 1934, of the History and Philosophy of Science and of the History of Civilization, with special reference to the Middle Ages and Byzantium.

Machtpolitik vor den Kreuzzügen (Jena, Frommannsche Buchhandlung) is a lecture delivered by Alexander Cartellieri before the Saxon Akademie der Wissenschaften at Leipzig on January 19, 1935. The realignment of European political forces and of the papacy during the half century preceding the Crusades is explained and analyzed, especially in the light of the German position.

Interesting interpretations are given by Christopher Dawson in his *Mediaeval Religion (The Forwood Lectures, 1934) and other Essays* (Sheed and Ward, 1934, pp. vii, 195, $2.00). In the first essay he discusses the sociological "transformation which religion underwent in passing from the ancient to the mediaeval world"; in the second, the later theological development is considered with particular emphasis on the relation of the East and West. The next two essays deal with religion and science and religion and literature. Two other essays which have been published before are included as they bear on the general subject.

E. D. S.

A recent volume of the Chetham Society, *Biographical Sketches of the Members of Parliament of Lancashire, 1290–1550,* by Henry Hornyold-Strickland, is a valuable contribution to the history of parliamentary personnel. Among other things, no trace has been found of any borough representatives from 1332 to 1525. A list of sources is appended.

Le scorpion, symbole du peuple juif dans l'art religieux des XIV^e^, XV^e^, XVI^e^ siècles: À propos de quatre peintures murales de la chapelle Saint-Sébastien, à Lanslevillard, Savoie, by Marcel Bulard, professeur d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art à la Faculté des lettres de Nancy [Annales de l'Est, de l'Université de Nancy] (Paris, E. de Boccard, pp. xv, 364, 50 fr.), is a significant contribution to the much neglected history of the artistic presenta-

tions of Jews and Judaism in medieval Christendom. By the example of the scorpion he has also demonstrated the more general symbolic significance of the minor decorative expedients employed by medieval artists which have hitherto frequently been disparaged as but meaningless expressions of artistic fancy. His interest in the scorpion was aroused by four murals in the chapel of St. Sebastian in Lanslevillard, Savoy, which have, in the meantime, become known to the public at large through an album of reproductions of all the paintings in that chapel, edited and annotated by E. Martin-Rosset (1934). In the course of years he succeeded in assembling 88 other examples of such decorative use in murals, miniatures, etchings, sculptures, etc., dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. They are now scattered all over Italy (46), France (15), Austria (10), Germany (9), the United States (2), and other countries. The reader finds with great relish that most of them have been well reproduced in the fifty plates appended to the present volume. On this relatively wide basis and by utilizing vast contemporary dramatic, polemical, and folkloric source material the author has made it appear plausible that it was primarily (though not exclusively, because it shared the dubious distinction with personified dialectics, astrology, and Islam) Jewish "falsity" which was thus symbolized through an animal whose external attractiveness merely served to accentuate the danger of its poisonous bite. S. W. B.

Articles: P. Kehr, *Die Preussische Akademie und die Monumenta Germaniae und deren neue Satzung* (Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1935, XX); *id., Bericht über die Herausgabe der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 1934 (ibid.);* D. V. Thompson, jr., *Trial Index for Mediaeval Craftsmanship* (Speculum, Oct.); H. R. Patch, *Necessity in Boethius and the Neoplatonists* (*ibid.*); C. F. Arrowood, *Sir John Fortescue on the Education of Rulers* (*ibid.*); Hans Goetting, *Die klösterliche Exemtion in Nord- und Mitteldeutschland von 8. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert* (Arch. f. Urkundenf., XIV, no. 1); Wilhelm John, *Formale Beziehungen der privaten Schenkungsurkunden Italiens und des Frankenreiches und die Wirksamkeit der Formulare* (*ibid.*); Benno Hillinger, *Ursprung und Wert des Wergeldes im Volksrecht* (Hist. Vierteljahr., May); B. Krusch, *König Chlodwig als Gesetzgeber* (*ibid.*); Karl Schambach, *Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte Heinrichs des Löwen (ibid.,* July); Evert Barger, *The Problem of Roman Survivals in Germany* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); Steven Runciman, *Charlemagne and Palestine (ibid.);* H. A. Cronne, *The Honour of Lancaster in Stephen's Reign* (*ibid.*); W. Lenel, *Die angebliche Unterwerfung Venedigs durch Otto II (983)* (Hist. Zeitsch., Sept.); Karl Hans Ganahl, *Versuch einer Geschichte des österreichischen Landrechts im 13. Jahrhundert* (Mitteil. Österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XIII, no. 3, Ergänzungsb.); Hubert Richardot, *Le fief roturier à Toulouse aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles* (Rev. Hist. de Droit Français et Étranger, July); Pierre Petot, *Exécution d'un mandement de Philippe le Bel*

par Beaumanoir (*ibid.*); Pietro Battara, *Le indagini congetturali sulla popolazione di Firenze fino al Trecento* (Arch. Stor. Ital., 1935, vol. I, 2); Luigi Simeoni, *L'elezione di Obizzo d'Este a Signore di Ferrara* (*ibid.*); Karl Haff, *Geschlechtshöfe und freie Marken in Skandinavien und Deutschland* (Vierteljahr. f. Soz.- und Wirtschaftsgesch., XXVIII, no. 2); H. Laurent, *Nouvelles recherches sur la Hanse des XVII villes* (Moyen Age, Apr.); Donald Drew Egbert, *A Sister to the Tickhill Psalter: the Psalter of Queen Isabella of England* (Bull. New York Public Library, Oct.); Pierre Schommer, *Notes sur un chapitre de l'Histoire de Saint-Denis* (Rev. Ques. Hist., July); M. W. Winslow, *Early Bankers in the Genoese Records* (Ec. Hist. Rev., Oct.); T. F. T. Plucknett, *Bookland and Folkland (ibid.);* Ch. Prentout [late professor at the University of Caen], *Personnages inconnus de la tapisserie de Bayeux* (Rev. Hist., July); Jacques Brossard, *Ralph Neville, évêque de Chichester et chancelier d'Angleterre* (*ibid.*, Sept.); Lucien Badey, *Les premières routes de vins de France* (An. Bourgogne, Sept.); Konrad Burdach, *Der mittelalterliche Streit um das Imperium in den Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Deutsche Vierteljahr. f. Literaturwissen. und Geistesgesch., XIII, no. 4); G. Biscaro, *Una conguira a Treviso contro la Signoria di Venezia nel 1356* (Arch. Veneto, LXIV, V[a] ser. N. 31-32, 1934); Anthony Steel, *Mutua per talliam, 1377–1413* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.).

Documents: N. B. Lewis, ed., *An Early Indenture of Military Service, 27 July, 1287* (Bull. Inst. Hist. Research, Nov.); A. G. Little, ed., *The Friars v. the University of Cambridge* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.)

G. C. B.

FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

General review: Henri Hauser, *Histoire de France, Histoire moderne, 1498–1660* (Rev. Hist., July).

The document printed in *The Coronation of Elizabeth Wydeville, Queen Consort of Edward IV, on May 26th, 1465: a Contemporary Account now first set forth from a XV Century Manuscript,* by George Smith (London, Ellis, pp. 88, 6*s.*), written in English "in a clear hand upon six leaves of paper" was known to the Historical Manuscripts Commission, but only as a fifteenth century manuscript. Its interesting contents—a contemporary account of the crowning of Edward IV's "most deere and most entierly beloved wiff", Elizabeth Wydeville, and of the feast following the ceremony—remained unnoticed until the document came into the hands of the present editor. His introduction of a few pages gives the general setting of the occasion, including some information gained from other sources. The commentary following the text discusses various persons named as present, and includes a note on the earlier marriage of the queen and a long note on Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford. The descriptions contained in the manu-

script itself are fairly detailed; the language is of some interest, and it is very useful to have the list of nobles and clergy who in their various capacities were attendant on the queen. N. N.

In *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap,* vol. LV (Utrecht, Kemink, 1934, pp. lxxxvi, 369) the opening article, by J. C. J. Kleijntjens, S.J., contains the first printed copy of the expense accounts drawn up by Johannes Spierinex for the Count of St. Pol, brother-in-law of Jacoba of Bavaria. The accounts add welcome particulars to our knowledge of the second campaign undertaken by Countess Jacoba against her uncle, John of Bavaria (October 8-November 2, 1419). The currency used was the customary division of pounds into shillings and pence. Another useful article is that by A. A. van Schelven, who publishes thirty-one letters written by Thomas Tilius of Antwerp. The latter had been abbot of St. Bernard's Abbey in Antwerp, joined the forces of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands, and after a protracted residence in Geneva was appointed court preacher by William the Silent. Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland publishes two journals from the pen of Matthijs Beelaerts, who in 1691 accompanied his father, Pieter, on two official trips in the service of the Dutch government. Finally, P. A. Meilink edits four valuable documents which throw much new light on the meetings of the States-General in the years 1557-1558; his footnotes are also very helpful. A. H.

Med svenskarna och Engelbrekt (Stockholm, Norstedt), by Kjell Kumlien, is an account of the great uprising in central Sweden in 1434-1436 which ultimately led to the secession of the Swedes from the Scandinavian union. In his broader conclusions the author is quite conventional. He grants freely, however, that Engelbrekt found it necessary to work with the nobility; but he also holds that the great chieftain never was an instrument of the aristocratic classes, as some historians now seem disposed to believe.

Church and State in Tudor Ireland: a History of Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1534–1603 (Longmans, 18*s.*), by Robert Dudley Edwards, is a product of the new school of Irish historians who are reinterpreting the critical periods of Ireland's history from their own point of view, utilizing the apparatus of scholarship including native manuscript sources not hitherto explored. One interesting fact is that within the Pale there were no Catholic martyrs under Henry VIII, and no Protestant martyrs under Philip and Mary.

The monograph of Walter Friedensburg on *Johannes Sleidanus, der Geschichtschreiber und die Schicksalsmächte der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig, M. Heinsius Nachfolger, pp. 89, 2.40 M.) marks a renewed interest in one of the most important personages of the period. Apropos of its appearance, Professor Adolf Hasenclever, author of *Sleidan-Studien* (1905), makes the

suggestion (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 15) that the Institut der Elsass-Lothringer in Frankfurt undertake an edition of Sleidan's letters discovered since the publication of Baumgarten's edition in 1881, and that to these be added the prefaces to his works and the references to him in contemporary writings.

F. Nicolini has assembled from widely scattered academic and periodical publications a series of studies, now published under the title *Aspetti della vita Italo-spagnola nel Cinque e Seicento* (Naples, Guida, pp. 367).

In *William Cecil, the Power behind Elizabeth*, Alan Gordon Smith (Dutton) represents the minister as dominating the queen and shaping her policies by sheer ability. There is a tendency to dwell on the alleged weaknesses of Elizabeth and to suggest the questionable morality of some of the successes of Cecil. Apparently the author's sympathies are with the old Church and the legitimist claims of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Great Tudors, edited by Katharine Garvin, who contributes an introduction (Dutton), contains forty essays by as many authors on prominent figures from Henry VII to Ben Jonson. All of the sovereigns of the period except Edward VI have an essay as have representative men in other fields. Professors E. P. Cheyney and Conyers Read are among the authors. Others are A. F. Pollard, C. H. Williams, R. W. Chambers, and J. A. Williamson. A. W. Pollard and J. D. Wilson collaborate in the essay on Shakespeare.

Articles: Gaston Dodu, *L'opinion française et l'Espagne au temps des Valois* (Rev. Études Hist., July); W. K. Hancock, *Machiavelli in Modern Dress* (History, Sept.); Fabio Cusin, *Impero, Borgogna e politica italiana: L'incontro di Treviri del 1473* (N. Riv. Stor., Mar.); Alfredo Casadei, *Galeazzo Caracciolo e la sua fuga a Ginevra* [1551] (*ibid.*); G. Pietzsch, *Die Pflege der Musik an den Universitäten bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhundert:* [I] *Die Universität Prag und ihre Vorbilder* (Mitteil. Vereines f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXXIII, nos. 1-2); Ks. Henryk Folwarski, *Erasmus Cilek, genannt Vitelius, Bischof von Plock, 1503–1522* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., 1935, no. 3); John Horsch, *The Rise and Fall of the Anabaptists of Münster* [concl'd] (Mennonite Quar. Rev., July); Bohdan Chudoba, *Die Textfälschung Maximilians II, aus der habsburgischen Religionspolitik* [1569] (Mitteil. Österr. Inst. f. Geschichtsf., XLIX, nos. 1, 2); Kerby Neill, *The "Faerie Queen" and the Mary Stuart Controversy* (Jour. Eng. Lit. Hist., Sept.); J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Les Portugais au Brésil* (Rev. Hist. Mod., June).

Documents: R. J. Mitchell, ed., *Thomas Linacre in Italy* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.).

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

General review: Georges Lefebvre, *Histoire de la Révolution et de l'Empire* [concl'd] (Rev. Hist., Sept.).

Under the title of *Négociations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande, 1689–1690,* the Dublin Stationery Office has published the correspondence of this French ambassador who was with James II. It appears to have been privately printed by the British foreign office nearly a hundred years ago, but then only in ten copies, several of which have been lost. The correspondence contains much information about conditions in Ireland and the state of James's forces.

The Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht has published vol. I (of two volumes) of the *Briefwesseling en Aanteekeningen van Willem Bentinck, Heer van Rhoon* (Utrecht, Kemink, pp. x, 499), edited by Professors C. Gerretson of Utrecht and P. Geyl of London. This volume runs from 1736 to the end of April, 1748 (preliminaries of the peace of Aachen). Part of the correspondence of Bentinck van Rhoon, chief of the stadholder's party in those years, is in the royal archives at The Hague, and was printed by Bussemaker in the *Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau.* Part is in the British Museum and is here printed, 300 letters and some documents, valuable for Dutch-English relations and the history of the War of the Austrian Succession. Bentinck writes in English to his mother, the Countess of Portland, to whom more than a hundred of the letters are addressed, and to a few others. Half the volume is in English, the rest in French and Dutch.

J. F. J.

The current yearbook of the Swedish Caroline Society (Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok) comprises eight studies of high merit dealing with developments in Swedish history in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Of more than usual interest are Arne Munthe's study of the activities of Charles XII in Turkey ("Karl XII i Turkiet") and Karl Gustaf Hildebrand's account of certain negotiations with Mazeppa in 1707 ("En relation från Mazeppa våren 1707").

Hasso von Wedel's account of the fortunes of the Estonian nobility in the first century of Russian domination proves to be a broader work than the title would seem to indicate, the author having included materials that make it almost a general history of the province in the eighteenth century. (*Die estlandische Ritterschaft, vornehmlich zwischen 1710–1783,* Königsberg, pp. 181.)

The second number of the new series of *La Révolution française* includes the first installment of critical summaries of thirteen memoirs presented at the June examination at the University of Paris for the diploma of "Études supérieures". Professors Sagnac and Hauser have prepared the summaries.

The topics are selected from the history of the eighteenth century and the Revolution. Professor Sagnac remarks that this examination is the most interesting of all that take place at the University of Paris. The summaries testify to a high order of work.

L'émigration française dans le canton de Fribourg, 1789–1798, by Tobie de Raemy (Fribourg, Fraguière, pp. 530), based on municipal and cantonal archives, gives evidence that the émigrés in that region were on the whole cordially received.

G. Debien's *Les sources manuscrites de l'histoire et de la géographie de Saint-Domingue* (Port au Prince, Haiti, Valcin, pp. 50) catalogues pertinent materials in the libraries of France dealing with this former French colony from the sixteenth century to 1825. These are arranged alphabetically by libraries and chronologically under each institution. While the majority have already been listed in Leland's *Guide to Materials for American History in the Libraries and Archives of Paris,* vol. I, *Libraries* (Washington, 1932), this volume calls attention to eighty-five manuscripts of considerable value located in provincial centers and forms a handy tool. L. J. R.

Le lieutenant-colonel Frémond de la Merveillère et les débuts de la Révolution à Saint-Domingue (Poitiers, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, pp. 44) is based on twenty-three letters by this chief engineer and director-general of St. Domingan fortifications between March and November, 1791. It is edited by a descendant, Olivier de Frémond de la Merveillère, and the Caribbean historian Gabriel Debien and contains much valuable data on the local situation. L. J. R.

Articles: Soma E. Howe, *Un repaire de pirates sur la route des Indes* (Rev. Études Hist., July); Eugenio Passamonti, *Relazioni anglo-sabaude dal 1603 al 1625* (Boll. Stor. Bibl. Subalpino, 1934, nos. 3, 6); Victor L. Tapié, *La question Wallenstein* [apropos of Pekar's Valdsteyn] (Rev. Hist. Mod., June); A. Schmidtmayer, *Comenius in Elbing* [1642-1648] (Mitteil. Vereines f. Gesch. der Deutschen in Böhmen, LXXIII, nos. 1, 2); C. Eden Quainton, *Colonel Lockhart and the Peace of the Pyrenees* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); George W. Whiting, *Milton's Reply to Lord Digby* (Rev. Eng. Studies, Oct.); A. France-Lanord, *L'oeuvre de Vauban sur la rive droite du Rhin: Brisach et Fribourg* (An. l'Est, 1935, no. 3); Ethyn Williams Kirby, *The Quakers' Efforts to secure Civil and Religious Liberty, 1660–1696* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); B. Krupnitzky, *Zu den polnischen Teilungsprojekten von 1709–1711* (Zeitsch. f. Osteur. Gesch., 1935, no. 3); Robert Stupperich, *Feofan Prokopovič und Johann Franz Buddeus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistigen Beziehungen zwischen Russland und Deutschland im Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts (ibid.);* A. Stratonov, *Zur Quellenfrage der russischen Gesetzgebung über die bäuerliche Selbstverwaltung im 18. und 19. Jahr-*

hundert (ibid.); H. Brunschwig, *L'Aufklärung et le mouvement Philosémite en Prusse à la fin du XVIII^e siècle* (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Sept.); R. Villate, *Le Mouvement des idées militaires en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Rev. Hist. Mod., June); Henri Sée, *Statistique des pauvres de Rennes vers la fin de l'ancien régime d'après les rôles de la capitation* (An. Bretagne, 1934, nos. 3, 4); Auguste Dupouy, *Supplément à l'histoire de Kerguélen, d'après des documents inédits* (*ibid.*, 1935, nos. 1, 2); M. L. Fasano Cao, *Relazioni tra la Corsica e il Regno di Sardegna nel tempo dell' ultima lotta per l'indipendenza côrsa, 1790–1794* (Rassegna Stor. Risorg., Sept.); F. E. Manuel, *L'introduction des machines en France et les ouvriers: La grève des tisserands de Lodève* [I] (Rev. Hist. Mod., June); Léon Cahen, *Le prétendu Pacte de famine* (Rev. Hist., Sept.); W. Mayr, *L'Ami du peuple a-t-il été un voleur?* (Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp., 1935, no. 2); J. Barennes, *Le Girondin Barennes* [concl'd] (An. Hist. Rév. Fr., Sept.); Frank E. Ross, *The Mission of Joseph Donaldson, jr., to Algiers, 1795–1797* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); Holden Furber, *An Abortive Attempt at Anglo-Spanish Commercial Coöperation in the Far East in 1793* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Nov.).

Documents: Jean Marchand, ed., *Les grands journées de juin et de juillet 1789, d'après le Journal inédit de Creuzé-Latouche, député à la Constituante* (Rev. Ques. Hist., July).

HISTORY SINCE 1800

General review: Henri Sée, *Histoire économique et sociale, 1932–1933* [I] (Rev. Hist., Sept.); Alexander L. P. Johnson, *The War Memoirs of the Archduke Joseph of Hungary* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.).

A noteworthy contribution to the history of the University of Paris is made in *La Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, depuis sa fondation, 17 mars, 1808, jusqu'au 1^er janvier, 1935* (Alcan), by Albert Guigue. It is surprising to note that in 1933 the number of women was almost equal to that of men. Nearly one seventh were foreigners. Another bit of statistics is interesting; in the 127 years of its existence this faculty has received 1718 theses for the "doctorat ès lettres".

Volume IV of M. G. Lacour-Gayet's *Talleyrand, 1754–1838* (Payot, 1934, pp. 350, 30 fr.) has the subtitle of *Mélanges* and it might also be described as a "Companion to Talleyrand studies", for the author follows in successive chapters the whole course of Talleyrand's life as portrayed in the biography, adding illustrative facts which have come to his attention, letters and documents that he has discovered since the biography was published, or which seem pertinent here although they could not find a place there. Many of these he has owed to the interest which his work has aroused and which has prompted owners of carefully guarded private collections to open them to

his examination. For example, the Duc de Broglie, grandson of the editor of Talleyrand's memoirs, has placed his grandfather's papers at the disposition of M. Lacour-Gayet. Two of the most instructive chapters concern the authenticity of those memoirs. Older students will recall the violent controversy after their publication in 1891 prompted by the fact that no original manuscript existed and that they had been edited from a copy in the handwriting of the Baron de Bacourt, Talleyrand's literary executor. As explained in chapters IV and XXVIII of the present volume the author has found in two private collections, which he does not further identify, two Talleyrand manuscripts, one a rough draft of a few pages from the account of the Constituent Assembly, and the other the original from which Bacourt's copy of a part of the Spanish affair of 1808 was made. He gives a careful collation of these manuscripts with the printed text and is satisfied that Bacourt dealt so freely with the originals that one cannot be sure in any particular precisely what Talleyrand wrote, although apparently Bacourt limited himself to retouches and slight omissions, perhaps minor interpolations, and did not indulge in wholesale inventions. Another interesting chapter comments on the recent discovery in the Austrian archives of 832 pieces, principally letters of Napoleon to his ministers of foreign affairs, seventy-three of which are originals signed by Napoleon, the remainder copies. These Talleyrand sold to Metternich in 1817 for 500,000 francs. Lacour-Gayet believes that there must have been included other documents of deeper interest to Metternich, and which he destroyed as soon as he laid hands on them. What remains bulks large, but is of little import, and Metternich was not of the stuff of dupes. At all events "Vendidit hic auro patriam" is too severe a phrase to apply even to this scandalous transaction. H. E. B.

Louis Philippe's queen must have been an industrious diarist, for the twenty-four manuscript volumes which have been preserved in the Nemours-Alençon-Vendôme archives cover her life only as far as 1835. Upon these the Duchesse de Vendôme has drawn in preparing *La jeunesse de Marie-Amélie, reine des Français, d'après son journal* (Plon, pp. vi, 291, 13 fr. 50). This carries the story only to 1814, the least interesting portion for any except a court annalist.

Another important series on the struggle between Austria and Prussia is *Europäische Quellen zur Schleswig-Holsteinschen Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert,* of which the first volume is *Akten aus dem Wiener Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, 1818–1852* (Breslau, Ferdinand Hirt, 1934, pp. 440), edited by Johann Albrecht von Rantzau. This is one of the publications of the Schleswig-Holstein Universitäts-Gesellschaft.

In *Gordon, et le drame de Khartoum* (Hachette, pp. 251) the author, M. Jacques Delebecque, has not attempted to add to the well-known facts of Gordon's career and tragic fate, but to sketch the features of the principal

characters in the drama and to render homage to a man who honored not only his own country but humanity irrespective of race or country. The story is told with skill and moving sympathy.

Dr. Georges Michon, the author of *L'alliance franco-russe* (1932), has continued the investigation of that and kindred themes in *La préparation à la guerre: La loi de trois ans, 1910–1914* (Marcel Rivière, 18 fr.).

Part II, vol. CXXXIII (1930) of the *British and Foreign State Papers*, with which is incorporated Hertslet's Commercial Treaties (H.M. Stationery Office, pp. xii, 1094, £1 12*s.* 6*d.*) includes as one of its most important sections programs and rules from the Soviet Union and the Russian Communist party, which may be reviewed with profit in connection with the recent agitation over the more active policy of the Communist International in promoting revolution in other lands.

Carson the Statesman, by Ian Colvin (Macmillan, pp. 446, $3.00), is published in England as *The Life of Lord Carson*, vol. II—its proper title. Herein we read nothing concerning Carson's early career, already brilliantly analyzed by the late Edward Majoribanks; nor, on the other hand, is there mention of his lordship's services to the empire as a member of the War cabinet. Instead, this book is strictly limited to Carson's activities in opposition to the third Home Rule Bill on the eve of the World War. The hypothetical rebellion of Ulster (1913-1914) is described in minute detail. Carson, more sapient than Bonar Law and other Tory leaders, was careful not to advise or even to hint at disobedience on the part of British military officers; nevertheless, to his iron will may justly be ascribed their resignations. Carson did not originate the Ulster Covenant; but it was his voice which advertised it. Carson did not instigate the Ulster gunrunning; but his influence led to it. From these pages he emerges as the one hero of that domestic broil which very likely might have led to civil war had there been no Sarajevo. To all students of recent Irish history this book will be welcome. It would be better history if John Redmond as well as Edward Carson had been made a hero by the author. W. P. H.

Ifor L. Evans, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, author of *Native Policy in Southern Africa: an Outline* (Cambridge University Press, Macmillan Company, 1934, pp. vi, 177, $2.00), was a newcomer to Southern Africa when he visited the country in 1933, but he brought a trained and unprejudiced mind to the study of its native problem and has produced the best outline yet published. He deals in turn with the development of the native policy of the Union of South Africa, bringing in all the factors which have made it one of the most acute racial problems of the day. He then deals with the situation in the enclosed protectorates and in the adjacent territories of southern Rhodesia and the mandated area of South West Africa. He is studiously objective in his few judgments, being content for

the most part to state the facts in their historical perspective and to document his narrative as he proceeds. In view of the pending agitation in the Union of South Africa for the incorporation of the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland and the unanimous opposition of the natives to this step the book is very timely. Similarly the question of the return of South West Africa to the Germans, a move supported by many South Africans, needs to be considered in the light of the facts on German and Mandated native rule discussed in this interesting little volume. The map showing the approximate distribution of native areas will show why the Union's present policy is opposed by the natives and their friends. C. T. L.

To the recent important contributions to the history of South Africa has been added *The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution* (Oxford University Press), by W. P. M. Kennedy and H. J. Schlosberg.

The monographs reproduced in *The New Orient,* vol. II, *The Far East,* with an introduction by Berthold Laufer, are edited by Arthur Upham Pope, Berthold Laufer, Quincy Wright, Walter E. Clark (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, pp. xii, 394, $3.50). They appeared originally in *The New Orient,* organ of the New Orient Society. They are now brought together in one handsome, illustrated volume with a portrait of the late Dr. Berthold Laufer as frontispiece. The contributions on Persia were edited by Mr. Pope, those on Japan by Mr. Wright, those on India by Mr. Clark, and those on China, Central Asia, and Africa by Dr. Laufer. Of the twenty-two contributors three are Japanese, four are Chinese, and the rest European and American. The articles vary in quality, and about the only element they have in common is that they stand for civilizations all equally unknown to the West. That the one word "oriental" can in our minds be taken to cover them all is a fair indication of the dark clouds of obscurity that still hang over things Asiatic. This, however, does not minimize the value of the articles, some of which are contributions of great merit, particularly the one long monograph on India which was written *in toto* by Professor Clark. A.W.H.

Japan's Pacific Mandate, by Paul H. Clyde (Macmillan, pp. vi, 244, $3.00), is a comprehensive and very readable study of the Japanese political system in the mandated islands. The survey covers as well educational and social problems, the work of foreign missionaries, and the local economic resources and their development. Turning thereafter to international questions, Dr. Clyde takes issue with those who contend that, by resigning her membership in the League, Japan forfeited her rights to administer the islands. The difficult question of sovereignty in a mandated territory he believes may be solved ultimately by applying the theory of international servitudes. Finally the author examines the charge that Japan has illegally fortified some of the islands and finds no evidence to support the charge. The Saipan harbor construction is a normal result of expansion in the sugar

industry. At the same time Japanese naval experts are not blind to the strategic importance of the islands, and the author frankly admits that if Japan ever becomes involved in naval war, she will undoubtedly annex and fortify the islands. Eleven full page illustrations and a map accompany the text. Added is a fairly comprehensive bibliography. R. T. P.

Vol. III of Karl Stählin's *Geschichte Russlands von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin und Königsberg, pp. 550) covers the period from the death of Catherine II to the close of the Crimean War. The plan, which originally contemplated a work of two volumes, has in the process of writing expanded into one of four and possibly five.

Articles: Louis Goldberger, *Adrien de Lezay-Marnésia, ministre de France, 1803–1806* (Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp., 1935, no. 2); Émile Dard, *L'Ultimatum de Talleyrand, 1805* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., July); Michael Roberts, *The Leadership of the Whig Party in the House of Commons from 1807 to 1815* (Eng. Hist. Rev., Oct.); A. Aspinwall, *The Last of the Canningites* (*ibid.*); C. R. Sanders, *Coleridge as a Champion of Liberty* (Stud. in Philol., Oct.); Justus Hashagen, *Der Rhythmus im Wandel von Reaktion und Revolution 1815–1852* (Hist. Vierteljahr., July); Emilio Crosa, *La concessione dello Statuto: Carlo Alberto e il ministro Borelli, da un carteggio inedito* (N. Antol., Oct. 1); *Nuove pagine del diario di Alessandro Guiccioli* [I-V, 1876–1879] (*ibid.*, July 1, 16, Aug. 1, 16, Sept. 16); Gino Tomajuoli, *Il Convegno di Padova del 30 maggio 1864 per l'insurrezione delle Venezie* (Rassegna Stor. Risorg., Aug.); Knight Biggerstaff, *The Ch'ung Hou Mission to France, 1870–1871* (Nankai Soc. Ec. Quar., Oct.); Friedrich Luckwald, *Die englischen Vorkriegsakten* (Preuss. Jahrb., June); Gustav Roloff, *Die englisch-deutschen Bündnisverhandlungen im Jahre 1898* (Berl. Monatsh., Oct.); W. O. Henderson, *The German Colonial Empire* [Historical Revision LXXIX] (History, Sept.); Ernst Schüle, *Zwei Briefe Kaiser Wilhelms II an Kaiser Franz Joseph I* [1889–1893] (Preuss. Jahrb., June); Richard Dietrich, *England und Italien, 1887–1902: Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte des Tripoliskrieges* (Hist. Vierteljahr., May); Ernst Anrich, *Die deutsche Politik in der ersten Marokkokrise* (*ibid.*, July); Richard W. Van Alstyne, *The Policy of the United States regarding the Declaration of London, at the Outbreak of the Great War* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); Albert Pingaud, *L'intervention portugaise dans la guerre mondiale* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., July); Franz Bobkenau, *Un essai d'analyse historique: La crise des partis socialistes dans l'Europe contemporaine* (An. Hist. Éc. et Soc., July); W. T. Morgan, *Recent British Politics and the Newspaper Barons, 1929–1935* (South Atlantic Quar., Oct.); John Gilbert Reid, *The Young Manchu Emperor* (Open Court, July).

Documents: Paul Sweet, ed., *Four Letters from Gentz* (Jour. Mod. Hist., Dec.); *L'influence de la France en Roumanie: Démètre Bratianu et*

J. Michelet, 1846 [a letter of Bratianu] (Rév. Fr., Rev. Hist. Contemp., 1935, no. 2); Const. L. Georgopoulos, ed., *La constitution de Rigas* (*ibid.*).

UNITED STATES

GENERAL

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: account book for the estate of Thomas Lord Fairfax, including copies of Fairfax letters, 1713–1715; twelve account records of James and Henry Ritchie of Glasgow, respecting their stores in Essex County, Virginia, 1771–1777; ten anti-paper money broadsides, 1786–1840; two letter books of Gideon Denison, merchant of Savannah, 1791–1794; sixty-six papers of Nathan Starr, swordmaker to the United States, 1813-1851; photostats of sixteen letters of Zachary Taylor to Thomas S. Jesup, 1817–1840; the papers of Caleb Cushing, sixty boxes; diary of Richard W. Thompson, M.C., 1842; thirty-seven letters from and to Richard S. Ewell and others, 1842–1896; minutes of the Western Antislavery Society, 1845–1857, and antislavery album; fifteen papers of General Edward P. Alexander, C.S.A., 1854–1865; printed drafts, with autographic amendments, of the Constitution of the Confederate States; ten additional papers of General Edward S. Godfrey, 1876–1929; two file-boxes of papers of General Albert J. Myer, chief signal officer, U.S.A.

Dr. R. D. W. Connor has announced for the National Archives the appointment of Mr. Bernard R. Kennedy, to be Director of the Division of the Federal Register. This division is charged with the duty of filing and preparing for publication in the *Federal Register* all Presidential Proclamations, Executive Orders, and Rules and Regulations issued by the various Federal agencies which have general applicability and legal effect. Mr. Kennedy is a lawyer of wide experience in connection with governmental bodies. Dr. Connor also announces the appointment of Mr. Arthur E. Kimberly to be Chief of the Division of Repair and Preservation. Mr. Kimberly has acted as senior research associate of the National Research Council on the Preservation of Records at the United States Bureau of Standards. A further appointment is that of Mr. John R. Russell to be Chief of the Division of the Catalogue. Mr. Russell has been connected with the New York Public Library for the past five years, and in 1934 was awarded the fellowship by the General Education Board for study in European libraries with special emphasis on the organization of catalogue departments in large research libraries.

The Department of State has recently published a *List of Treaties submitted to the Senate, 1789–1934* (Government Printing Office, pp. 138, 20 cents).

Vol. VII of the *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, John Spencer Bassett

edition, is made up of the *General Index* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, pp. vii, 128), prepared by David Maydole Matteson, and is free to those having the set.

Dr. Everett E. Edwards has compiled *References on the Significance of the Frontier in American History,* which appears as No. 25 of the "Bibliographical Contributions" of the United States Department of Agriculture.

The library of the Washington Cathedral has acquired letter books of Thomas S. Jesup, quartermaster general of the Army, for the years 1826–1836 and 1839–1842.

Stories of sunken treasure ships and of attempts to salvage their precious cargoes have always held fascination for the general reader. But in *The Hispaniola Treasure,* by Cyrus H. Karraker (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1934, pp. xi, 122, $2.00), the author has shown that they may also prove of value to serious students of governmental institutions and finance. Most of the chapters deal with the experiences of William Phips and others in seeking wealth in the waters of the West Indies and the Bahama Islands toward the end of the seventeenth century. Several sections are reprinted from articles by the author in various historical journals. Of equal significance to historians are the chapters discussing the English law and practice regarding treasure-trove and wrecks and the efforts of the government to get possession of the royal share of the wealth recovered. The account of Phips and his rivals and successors is interestingly told, with adequate detail and after an extensive study of the sources, though much of the story is already familiar in its general outlines. But aside from Miss Crump's study of colonial admiralty jurisdiction, the interest of the government in this field has had scant treatment heretofore. What Dr. Karraker tells us is illuminating though brief. One could wish that he had devoted a larger share of his attention to this part of his work, dealing perhaps with a longer period of time and giving a more ample account of the rather unwelcomed partnership of the treasury and the admiralty in the activities of seventeenth and eighteenth century treasure seekers. L. W. L.

Professor James G. Leyburn in his *Frontier Folkways* (Yale University Press, pp. x, 291, $3.00) has written a very "sociological" account of several frontiers including the North American (1770-1870), Massachusetts Bay (1629–1650), the French on the St. Lawrence (1660–1698), New Zealand (1839–1857), Bahia, Brazil (1549–1580), Transvaal (1835–1899), Australia (1787–1840), and Java. He has classified these into four types: the small farm frontier, the settlement plantation, the exploitative plantation, and the camp. After analyzing these frontiers the author has prepared a table (pp. 231-233) in which eighteen folkways or mores are given their proper status in each of the four types. With much success the author has demonstrated the emergence on frontiers of folkways and mores different from those of the

parent group. Some of these are "Indianization", certain democratic trends, emotional religious revivalism, sectarianism, certain marriage novelties, and lynch law. The author is conscious of the shortcomings of his work at this early stage in the "science of society" and optimistically states that "it will require many generations to produce the careful investigations and syntheses necessary to make of this science . . . a discipline dispassionate and accurate".

R. C. D.

The September number of *Medical Life* is devoted to the medical history of the Confederacy and embodies an essay of Dr. Courtney R. Hall entitled "Caring for the Confederate Soldier: an Introduction to the History of the Medical Department of the Confederate Army".

Professor I. L. Sharfman brings to the third volume of his comprehensive study of the *Interstate Commerce Commission: a Study in Administrative Law and Procedure,* Part III, A (New York, The Commonwealth Fund, pp. xii, 684, $4.50), the same competent workmanship which characterized his two earlier volumes in this field of administrative law. The first volume (Part I) was an illuminating recital of the legislative history in which the commission originated and its powers expanded. Part II was a comprehensive presentation of the scope of that body's jurisdiction. Part III undertakes a critical scrutiny of its specific activities. After a summary of the extent and diversity of the commission's tasks, we have in this first section of Part III a history and a critical appraisal of the "Valuation Project" and of the "Control of Organization and Finance". The subject of rates is thus left over for the concluding volume of Part III. Professor Sharfman has displayed unusual skill in weaving into his historical discussion the 1933 legislation, including the Railroad Emergency Act and the amendments to the Bankruptcy Act. The valuation chapter is a well-balanced and discriminating judgment upon that project. In contrast to recent radical attitudes toward public utilities generally, Professor Sharfman's view that for purposes of regulation "the investment standard holds forth the more abundant promise" (p. 290) infallibly "dates" his standpoint as of the later Brandisian era. The concluding study of the administrative control of railroad security issues and of intercarrier relationships sustains the high standard of competence which has marked the entire work.

W. M. D.

Articles: J. Moss Ives, *The Catholic Contribution to Religious Liberty in Colonial America* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Oct.); Dora Mae Clark, *The British Treasury and the Administration of Military Affairs in America, 1754–1774* (Pennsylvania Hist., Oct.); Edmund C. Burnett, *Our Union of States in the Making: Achievements of the Continental Congress* (World Affairs, Sept.); Ludovic de Contenson, *Le souvenir des traités d'amitié, de commerce, et d'alliance entre la France et les États-Unis d'Amérique* (Rev. Hist. Dipl., July); Robert R. Pettengill, *United States Foreign Trade in*

Copper: 1790–1932 (Am. Ec. Rev., July); Ray Billington, *Anti-Catholic Propaganda and the Home Missionary Movement, 1800–1860* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); Thomas P. Martin, *Cotton and Wheat in Anglo-American Trade and Politics, 1846–1852* (Jour. Southern Hist., Aug.); George Fort Milton, *Stephen A. Douglas' Efforts for Peace* (*ibid.*); J. T. Dorris, *Pardon Seekers and Brokers: a Sequel of Appomattox* (*ibid.*); Archibald Rutledge, *Abraham Lincoln fights the Battle of Fort Sumter* (South Atlantic Quar., Oct.); R. H. Fahrney, *Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune in the Civil War* (New York History, Oct.); Donald B. Russell, *103 Fights and Scrimmages: Biography of General R. F. Bernard* (Cavalry Jour., Sept.); J. Martin Klotsche, *The Star Route Cases* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); Ernst Correll, *President Grant and the Mennonite Immigration from Russia* (Mennonite Quar. Rev., July); Sidney Ratner, *Was the Supreme Court packed by President Grant?* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Sept.); Albert V. House, jr., *The Contributions of Samuel J. Randall to the Rules of the National House of Representatives* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Oct.); A. C. Miller, *Federal Reserve Policies: 1927-1929* (Am. Ec. Rev., July).

Documents: Robert E. Moody, ed., *Oratorical Afterthoughts on American Independence* (New England Quar., Sept.).

NEW ENGLAND, MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820–1861 (Maine Bulletin, Jan., 1935, pp. 267), by Dr. R. G. Wood, is an important contribution to the history of what in many other states besides Maine has become a lost resource.

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held at the Lake Mohonk Mountain House, September 30-October 2, 1935, with 300 members in attendance. Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, President of Union College, and also of the association, arranged an unusually varied program, and delivered an address on the development of the American theater. One session of the meeting was devoted to New York biography under the guidance of Mr. Arthur Pound. Mr. Charles Messer Stow, antiques editor of the New York *Sun,* stressed the community of interest between the student of history and the antiquarian collector, and suggested that both would profit from a thorough combing of early New York newspapers. A historical tour was made to New Paltz and Kingston to inspect the stone houses erected by their Huguenot settlers in the early eighteenth century. The seventh Fellow of the Association, whose election was announced, is Dr. Ulysses P. Hedrick, director of the State Experiment Station at Geneva, and author of *A History of Agriculture in the State of New York.* The conference of local historians was much interested in the plan of the Federal government to inventory unprinted public and private records and historic buildings and sites, announced by Dr. Alexander C.

Flick, the State Historian. The Altamont *Enterprise* was awarded the bronze medal of the association for the best series of historical articles appearing in a weekly newspaper. E. P. A.

The Pennsylvania Historical Association held its annual meeting (the second for 1935 owing to a shift in the regular date from spring to fall) in Philadelphia, August 25 and 26. The imminence of the approaching state and city elections combined with the popular Friday evening session devoted to partisan interpretations of the Federal Constitution by James M. Beck and Congressman Sol Bloom gave color to the meetings and brought out a large attendance. Chief among the subjects were colonial legal records and their preservation, the Schwenkfelders' contribution to colonial music, Anna Dickinson the antislavery radical, agriculture in colonial Pennsylvania, the political ideas of John Dickinson, and Girard of the Philadelphia *Inquirer*. Dr. L. H. Gipson of the policy committee recommended that a careful survey be made of the field of Pennsylvania history to determine the chief needs and also urged that a co-operative history of Pennsylvania be prepared. Plans for both of these projects are to be presented at the meeting of the council in January. P. W. G.

Articles: Edmund B. Delabarre, *The Runic Rock on No Man's Land* (New England Quar., Sept.); Jarvis M. Morse, *Captain John Smith, Marc Lescarbot, and the Division of Land by the Council for New England, in 1623* (*ibid.*); Theodore Hornberger, *Samuel Johnson of Yale* (*ibid.*); John W. McElroy, *Seafaring in Early New England* (*ibid.*); Edgar Legare Pennington, *The First Hundred Years of the Church of England in Rhode Island* (Church Missions Publ. Co. Quar., July); Henry Allain St. Paul, *Governor Dongan's Expansion Policy* (Mid-America, Oct.); Joseph M. Beatty, jr., *The English Ancestry of the Clintons of New York* (New York Geneal. and Biog. Rec., Oct.); Charles W. Parker, *Some Reminiscences of Leading New Jersey Judges and Lawyers of the Later 19th Century* (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Oct.); Bertha Sprague Fox, *Provost Smith and the Quest for Funds* (Pennsylvania Hist., Oct.); George H. Ryden, *The Newark Academy of Delaware in Colonial Days* (*ibid.*); Henrietta M. Larson, *Jay Cooke's Early Work in Transportation* (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Louis W. H. Johnston, *The Government-Supported Historical Survey of Pennsylvania in the Western Counties* (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Sept.).

Documents: Charles A. Philhower, ed., *A Letter from a Gentleman of New Brunswick to his Friend in Elizabeth-Town* [1752] (Proc. New Jersey Hist. Soc., Oct.); Frederic R. Kirkland, ed., *Journal of a Physician on the Expedition against Canada* [Lewis Bebee, 1776] (Pennsylvania Mag. Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Bernhard A. Uhlendorf and Edna Vosper, eds., *Letters of Major Baurmeister during the Philadelphia Campaign, 1777–1778* (*ibid.*);

Paul H. Giddens, ed., *A Visit to the Oil Regions of Pennsylvania in 1865* [Diary of Amasa M. Eaton] (Western Pennsylvania Hist. Mag., Sept.).

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The first annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association was held at Birmingham on October 25 and 26. The program included a general session on the history of the Confederacy, with Charles W. Ramsdell presenting as the main theme "Some Problems Involved in Writing the History of the Confederacy", and with Ella Lonn and A. B. Moore leading the discussion; a session on the freshman course, in which Carl H. Pegg described the new freshman course in the social sciences at the University of North Carolina and Benjamin B. Kendrick led the discussion; and a group of four papers on "Some Representative Men of the Old South", in which L. C. Helderman discussed the work of George Tucker, Fletcher M. Green that of Duff Green, Mack Swearingen that of John McDonogh, and Charles S. Sydnor that of B. L. C. Wailes. In his presidential address, E. Merton Coulter presented a survey of the development of historical writing in the South to the beginning of the twentieth century. The report of the membership committee showed a total of 369 members with an attendance of 135 at this meeting. A permanent constitution was adopted and the following officers were elected for the coming year: Charles W. Ramsdell, president; Philip M. Hamer, vice-president; Fletcher M. Green, secretary-treasurer; and Frank L. Owsley, James G. Randall, and Maude H. Woodfin as members of the executive council. W. C. B.

The *Fifth Annual Report* of Dr. Lester J. Cappon, archivist of the University of Virginia Library, discusses the progress of the collection and preservation of Virginia historical materials for the year 1934–1935. The inventory of local archives was carried on with FERA funds in three counties: Charles City, Hanover, and York. The following families are represented in manuscript collections received by the Library: Barbour, Imboden, Smiley, Saunders, Twyman, and Watts; letters and unpublished writings of Elizabeth Oakes-Smith and Seba Smith have also been acquired. A collection of newspapers and pamphlets on Virginia populism is of special interest. The completion for publication of the archivist's *Virginia Newspapers, 1821–1935: a Bibliography* is the occasion for a discussion of the increase in Virginia files in that state and the southeast in recent years and the relative importance of other repositories of such material throughout the United States. A list of "Parish Records in the Dioceses of Southern Virginia and Southwestern Virginia, 1648–1900", by W. Edwin Hemphill, acting archivist during the summer of 1935, is printed as an appendix to the *Report*.

Articles: James W. Silver, *Edmund Pendleton Gaines and Frontier Problems* (Jour. Southern Hist., Aug.); William B. Marye, *Piscattaway*

(Maryland Hist. Mag., Sept.); Leander M. Goodhart, *Admiral Vernon, his Marylanders, and his Medals* (*ibid.*); Robert M. Hughes, *John B. Floyd and his Traducers* (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Oct.); Donald B. Sanger, *Red River: a Mercantile Expedition* (Tyler's Quar. Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); B. F. Lemert, *Geographic Influences in the History of North Carolina* (North Carolina Hist. Rev., Oct.); Elizabeth G. McPherson, *Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Jefferson* [concl'd] (*ibid.*); R. R. Hollingsworth, *Education and Reconstruction in Georgia* [II] (Georgia Hist. Quar., Sept.); William A. Russ, jr., *Radical Disfranchisement in Georgia, 1867–1871* (*ibid.*); Mark F. Boyd, *The First American Road in Florida: Pensacola-St. Augustine Highway, 1824* (Florida Hist. Soc. Quar., Oct.); Garland Taylor, *Colonial Settlement and Early Revolutionary Activity in West Florida up to 1779* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.).

Documents: Herbert A. Kellar, ed., *A Journey through the South in 1836: Diary of James D. Davidson* (Jour. Southern Hist., Aug.); R. A. Lancaster, ed., *Diary of Col. William Bolling of Bolling Hall* [1827] (Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog., Oct.); A. S. Salley, *Diary of William Dillwyn during a Visit to Charles Town in 1772–1773* [cont'd] (South Carolina Hist. and Geneal. Mag., Oct.); D. C. Corbitt, ed., *Some Papers relating to Bourbon County, Georgia* (Georgia Hist. Quar., Sept.); Charles S. Sydnor, ed., *Diary of a Journey in Arkansas in 1856* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); M. L. Crimmins, ed., *Sam Houston's Army Record* (Bull. New York Public Library, Sept.).

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Sponsored by the Filson Club, the Young E. Allison Commemoration Committee, appointed by the club, has published in a substantial volume the *Select Works of Young E. Allison* (Louisville, pp. vii, 469, $5.00). The volume opens with a biography of Mr. Allison, by J. Christian Bay, and a sketch of his career as a newspaperman, by William Fortune. Part VII is made up of the Allison historical papers.

Stage-Coach Days in the Bluegrass (Louisville, Standard Press, pp. 286, $2.50), by J. Winston Coleman, jr., is a competent study of those phases of Kentucky life in the nineteenth century illustrated by the modes of transportation. Taverns and tavern life naturally make up a substantial part of the description. One interesting story concerns the slow development of the railway, which was long in reaching the point where it threatened the stagecoach line. The strip rails on the Lexington and Frankfort Railroad had a way of curling up, which was something more than disconcerting. There are three appendixes which list the taverns and inns of the region, stagecoach owners and operators, and the drivers, the last to the number of 123.

A Kentuckian at the Court of the Tsars: the Ministry of Cassius Mar-

cellus Clay to Russia, 1861–1862, and 1863–1869 (Berea College Press, pp. 286, $2.50), by James Rood Robertson, deals with an antislavery Whig leader of Kentucky who went over to the Republican party and received a reward in 1861 by being appointed minister to Russia. He had absolutely no experience for this career, which he held without the slightest distinction, except for one year, until 1869. During that time the important questions with Russia were handled by Secretary Seward with the Russian legation at Washington. In 1868 Seward requested the resignation of the minister, for reasons not explained by this biographer, but we may imagine because he was surfeited with the man's officious incompetency. This work is a naïve and uncritical account based on a perusal of Clay's dispatches and instructions in the Department of State. It adds little to our knowledge of Russian-American relations during this interesting period. The typography leaves a great deal to be desired. S. F. B.

The East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* no. 7, contains the following articles: "Parson Brownlow's Tour of the North during the Civil War", by E. Merton Coulter; "Shelby's Fort", by Samuel C. Williams; "Judicial Activities in Early East Tennessee", by Miriam L. Fink; the "Unionist Junket of the Tennessee and Kentucky Legislatures in January, 1860", by Madison Bratton; the "Cincinnati Southern Railway: a Municipal Enterprise", by R. O. Bigs; "The Coal Miners' Insurrection of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee", by A. C. Hutson, jr.; "The Executive Journal of Governor John Sevier" (cont'd), edited by S. C. Williams; and "Writings on Tennessee History [1934]", compiled by Laura E. Luttrell.

Vol. IV of the *History of the Ohio State University* (Ohio State University Press, 1934, pp. ix, 331) has as its subtitle *The University in the Great War:* Part I, *Wartime on the Campus.* The author is Dr. Wilbur H. Siebert, with a chapter on "Campus Publications during the War" by Professor Carl Wittke. The scope of Dr. Siebert's treatment is so comprehensive, including chapters on the relation of each department, even the Graduate School, to the demands of war activities, that the volume contains a fund of important illustrations of the influence of such a struggle upon educational institutions.

Old Chillicothe: Shawnee and Pioneer History (Xenia, The Buckeye Press, 1934, pp. xiii, 336), is the work of the late Dr. William Albert Galloway, whose family moved from Lexington, Kentucky, to Chillicothe in 1797, and had close associations with the Shawnees. The relations of the early settlers and the Shawnees was a lifelong interest with the author, who was president of the Green County Historical Society.

A recent publication of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society is a biography of the first president of Miami University. It is entitled

Robert Hamilton Bishop (pp. 215, $2.50) and the author is James H. Rodabaugh.

The history of a college which has played an important part in the educational development of Indiana is recorded in *The Centennial History of Franklin College,* by Professor John F. Cady, of its history faculty.

The Laws of Indiana Territory, 1809–1816, edited by Louis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker [Indiana Historical Collections, Volume XX] (Indiana Historical Bureau, 1934, pp. xiv, 923), completes the republication of the early statutes, hitherto relatively inaccessible, which were law in various portions of the Old Northwest once included in the Territory of Indiana. It contains, after a foreword by Governor McNutt and a preface by Dr. Coleman, a "Review of Legislation" by the editors (pp. 3-85), the reprinted laws, an appendix of heretofore unprinted private acts of 1810 and 1814 (pp. 703-763), an appendix of legislative memorials and resolutions of 1809-1815 (pp. 765-816), a third appendix giving a complete roster for 1800–1816 of territorial officers, delegates to Congress, circuit judges, members of the legislative assemblies, and county officials (pp. 817-863), and an index which seems to be as near perfection as can safely be conceded to any index. The editors' "Review of Legislation" is, in general, arranged by successive sessions of the assembly, is detailed, exact, and necessarily not inspiring. But they do not restrict themselves to the statutes of the pre-state period, nor do they adhere too tenaciously to the chronological arrangement; occasionally developing their material, instead, in interesting topical discussions. An example is that of the exemption laws down to 1881 (pp. 12-17), which reflected popular opinion as to what should be left to debtors for the comfort of their families—school books being added to the family Bible and professional books by 1843. Discussions of imprisonment for debt (pp. 32-37), internal improvements, and the development of a transportation system (pp. 45-56), and some other topics will have value for social historians. The official roster contains considerable information derived from manuscript sources in Indiana and elsewhere, including court records. But these sources are only narrowly utilized to establish names and dates. The story of the bench and bar, and of their work in the administration of justice, is not attempted in this volume and remains for a later worker. Within its limited field the volume is a most excellent production. F. S. P.

Illinois is to have a new and separate state archive building, for which the general assembly has appropriated $500,000. Work is to begin next spring. The building is so planned that it may eventually be expanded to four times the original size.

Vols. II and III of the Statistical Series [XXIV and XXVI of Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library] are *Illinois Census Returns, 1810, 1818* (pp. xxxii, 329) and *Illinois Census Returns, 1820* (pp. v, 466). The

editor is Margaret C. Norton, superintendent of the state archives. In her introduction she explains that there was an enumeration in 1767, made for Major General Gage. This was printed in vol. XI of the general collection. Two still earlier censuses, for 1732 and 1752, which classify persons and property, are included in the introduction of the present volumes, pp. xxii-xxvii. The census of 1818 was a special enumeration, taken to support the claim of Illinois to statehood. The census lists now printed contain the names of heads of families, the numbers of other free persons, and, it is interesting to observe, the numbers of slaves. Useful to the local historian is the fact that there are indexes of persons mentioned in the three censuses.

Glimpses of the Past (May-Sept.), of the Missouri Historical Society, presents selections from the papers of Captain Amos Stoddard relating to the "Transfer of Upper Louisiana".

The September number of the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* is devoted to the centenary of the consecration of Jackson Kemper as "Missionary Bishop" in Missouri and Indiana.

Mr. Paul I. Wellman, journalist on the staff of the Wichita *Eagle*, in his *Death in the Desert* (Macmillan, pp. xiv, 294, $3.00) has written a battle history of the wars for the "Great Southwest" from 1822 to 1886. He deals mostly with the Apache, although one of the twenty-seven chapters is devoted to the Taos Pueblo Indians and another to the Modoc in the brief period when those two tribes were at war. The fact that the Pueblo were famous for their ability to remain at peace with the United States indicates the author's slant. The story is told as a newspaperman might tell it, with lurid chapter and section headings and emphasis on the details of the "kill". The author's sympathy for the Indians is apparent throughout. Occasionally he uses official documentary source material with effect but for the most part he relies on the accounts of participants in the campaigns as told in their books of recollections. R. C. D.

Stanley Vestal's *New Sources of Indian History, 1850–1891: a Miscellany* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1934, pp. xix, 351, $3.50) is an excellently edited collection of source material in regard to the Ghost Dance and the Prairie Sioux. It is a miscellany of hitherto unpublished documents collected by the editor in preparation of his biography of Sitting Bull. The first part consists of documents relating to the Ghost Dance and the campaign of 1890–1891 and the second of statements made by Indian and white eye-witnesses in regard to the history of the Sioux. J. C. G.

Boise, the Peace Valley, by Annie Laurie Bird (Caldwell, Idaho, The Caxton Printers, 1934, pp. 408, $2.50), presents a graphic story of the Boise Valley of Idaho from the days of the Overland Astorians to the present. By drawing heavily upon contemporary journals and newspapers the feeling and flavor of the fur trade era, the mining boom days, Indian troubles, and

pioneer life are well preserved and portrayed. The irrigation ditch and the railroad are factors that account for the more important and lasting developments in the region. The source materials used and cited indicate wide and diligent search. The author writes entertainingly and with ardent devotion to her region and state. Several chapters are devoted to sketches of individual towns. A bibliography and an index are provided. L. R. H.

Arizona Place Names (University of Arizona, pp. 503, $1.50), by Will C. Barnes, is a valuable addition to the literature of place names. It is based upon a careful use of previous writings on the history of the state and upon the author's own researches extending over a period of thirty years. There are many excerpts from early letters, diaries, and other documents which throw light upon origins.

History of New Mexico by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, Alcalá, 1610, translated by Gilberto Espinosa, with an introduction and notes by F. W. Hodge [Quivira Society Publications, Volume IV] (Los Angeles, the Society, 1933, pp. 308), is one of the principal sources for the study of the expedition of Juna de Oñate, the founding of New Mexico, and the significant revolt of Ácoma, based upon the author's personal experiences and fortified by a number of related prose documents. It is the fruit of the age of the Spanish scholastic *certamen,* when poetry was ruthlessly stretched from the acrostic to the historical narrative without any feeling of doing violence to the form. Fortunately, conventional poetry was not so highly favored but that the author could stoutly insert documents of the purest prose. The editors have been right, therefore, in appraising Villagrá's work on the basis of its subject matter, notwithstanding that historians have long assumed that the poetical form led inevitably to the license of poetical fancy. This work, however, is no more subject to vagueness and verbiage, the natural concomitants of the poetical method, than the prose in such convent chronicles as those of Acosta, Meléndez, and Calancha. A similar work of rhyme, a veritable storehouse of ethnological information, remains to be done for Florida as this was done for New Mexico. Dr. F. W. Hodge's foreword shows an ample survey of the previous users of Villagrá's *History* and a very sane evaluation of the work itself. Despite the extreme difficulty and the many close decisions involved in translating and editing a work of this kind, the result is technically excellent and consistent. This prose translation will be extremely useful to lay users (the story is intrinsically a glamorous one told by a storyteller of no mean ability), while the notes will be of service to scholarship. J. T. L.

Articles: William S. Webb, *Old Millstones of Kentucky* (Filson Club Hist. Quar., Oct.); Charles M. Brunson, *Along the Greenville Treaty Line* [1795] (Hist. Soc. Northwestern Ohio, Quar. Bull., Oct.); Stanley Faye, *The Foxes' Fort, 1730* (Jour. Illinois State Hist. Soc., Oct.); Lewis E. Ather-

ton, *James and Robert Aul: a Frontier Missouri Mercantile Firm* (Missouri Hist. Rev., Oct.); Milton Garrison, *History of Township Organization in Missouri* (*ibid.*); Floy Lawrence Elmore, *A Pioneer School Teacher in Central Iowa: Alice Money Lawrence* (Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol., Oct.); J. Harold Stevens, *The Influence of New England in Michigan* (Michigan Hist. Mag., autumn); James K. Jamison, *The Copper Rush of the 50's* (*ibid.*); Willis Dunbar, *Public versus Private Control of Higher Education in Michigan* (Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., Dec.); Filip A. Forsbeck, *New Upsala: the First Swedish Settlement in Wisconsin* (Wisconsin Hist. Mag., Sept.); William F. Raney, *Pine Lumbering in Wisconsin* (*ibid.*); George H. Primmer, *Pioneer Roads Centering at Duluth* (Minnesota Hist., Sept.); T. F. Morrison, *Mission Neosho: the First Kansas Mission* (Kansas Hist. Quar., Aug.); Russell K. Hickman, *Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company* (*ibid.*); Margaret Long, *The Route of the Leavenworth and Pike's Peak Express* (Colorado Mag., Sept.); Dan W. Peery, *Colonel Crocker and the Boomer Movement* (Chron. Oklahoma, Sept.); George P. Hammond, *Oñate a Marauder?* (New Mexico Hist. Rev., Oct.); Alfred L. Lomax, *Siuslaw and Willamette Valleys, 1850–1891* (Oregon Hist. Quar., Sept.); Charles H. Carey, *British Side of Oregon Question, 1846* (*ibid.*); George Verne Blue, *French Interest in Pacific America in the Eighteenth Century* (Pacific Hist. Rev., Sept.); Alston G. Field, *Attorney-General Black and the California Land Claims* (*ibid.*); Bayrd Still, *California's First Constitution: a Reflection of the Political Philosophy of the Frontier* (*ibid.*); Donald Rowland, *The Establishment of the Republic of Hawaii, 1893–1894* (*ibid.*); N. R. Knight, *The Background of Early Washington Banking* (Washington Hist. Quar., Oct.).

Documents: J. B. Tenelly, ed., *Father Pierz, Missionary and Colonizer* (Acta et Dicta, Oct.); Charles M. Gates, ed., *The Tourist Traffic of Pioneer Minnesota* (Minnesota Hist., Sept.); LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., *George A. Jackson's Diary, 1858–1859* (Colorado Mag., Nov.).

CUBA, MEXICO, AND SOUTH AMERICA

The Junta de historia y numismática americana of Buenos Aires has planned a co-operative history of Argentina in eleven volumes to which foreign as well as Argentine scholars are to contribute. The director of this enterprise is the well-known educator and historian, Professor Ricardo Levene. The first volume of this *Historia de la Nación Argentina (desde sus origenes hasta la organización definitiva en 1862)* which bears the subtitle *Tiempos prehistóricos y protohistóricos* is now in press.

Vol. XXVII of the *Boletín del Archivo nacional* of Cuba contains a sketch of the periodical press in that island, indexes of royal orders for 1799, and indexes of documents in the national archives concerning the activities of the

delegation of the Cuban revolutionary party in New York, 1892–1898. The Academy of History of Cuba has published vol. III, *Miscelánea,* of the *Papeles de Martí.*

The Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America has published essays by different authors entitled *Renascent Mexico,* edited by Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock.

No. 39 of the Archivo histórico diplomático mexicano, edited by Genaro Estrada, is entitled *Un siglo de relaciones internacionales de México, á través de los mensajes presidenciales* (Mexico, Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 1935).

The Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations has published a translation into English, by P. M. del Campo, of Alfonso Teja Zabreis's treatise on Mexican history under the title *Guide to the History of Mexico: a Modern Interpretation.*

Nos. 61–63 of the *Boletín del Instituto de investigaciones históricas* contains the following articles: "Don Juan de San Martín, Nuevos documentos para su biografía", by José Torre Revello, "Jaime Rasquin y su expedición del año 1559", by Enrique de Gandía, "Contribución á la historia del gaucho", by Emilio A. Coni, and "Dalmacio Vélez Sársfield: La iniciación forense", by Abel Cháneton.

Nos. 70 and 71 of the *Boletín del Archivo nacional de Venezuela* contain installments of indexes of documents pertaining to the consulate, the captaincy general, and the intendancy of Venezuela, the government of Spanish Guiana, and the Guipúzcoan Company.

Chester Lloyd Jones has published in the University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History (no. 23) a monograph followed by a selected bibliography on the subject *Costa Rica and Civilization in the Caribbean* (Madison, 1935).

In commemoration of José F. Restrepo the government of Colombia has published a volume containing two articles concerning slavery in that part of America: *La esclavitud en Colombia,* by Eduardo Posada, and *Leyes de manumisión y antecedentes de ellas,* compiled by Carlos Restrepo Canal (Bogotá).

Studies of Mexican economic life, both in old Mexico and in the Rio Grande borderland of the United States, are presented in *An American-Mexican Frontier, Nueces County, Texas* (University of North Carolina Press, 1934, pp. xiii, 337, $3.50), by Paul Schuster Taylor, and in *Organized Labor in Mexico* (University of North Carolina Press, 1934, pp. 315, $2.50), by Marjorie Ruth Clark. Both volumes contain preliminary historical surveys. Professor Taylor's discussion of the early history of Nueces County

covers about one fourth of his volume, and is largely based on secondary material. Of his ten historical chapters, four short ones deal especially with border disturbances from 1848 to 1880. The method of treatment and the style are wholly statistical and rather sketchy, traits which are maintained throughout the remainder of the work. Miss Clark's discussion of organized Mexican labor is an interesting approach to a little-known field. A very complete bibliography is included. Both volumes are illustrated. R. K. W.

The Institute of Historical Investigation of the University of Buenos Aires has issued the first volume of a valuable and sumptuous study of colonial art in Spanish America by Martin S. Noel under the title of *Estudios y documentos para la historia del arte colonial,* with a documentary appendix by José Torre Revello which contains plates of plans of ecclesiastical edifices in Spanish America from the originals in the Archivo general de Indias. E. Restrepo Tirado is the author of *Gobernantes del Nuevo Reyno de Granada durante el siglo XVIII* published by the same institute (1934).

Articles: K. Grubb, *The Political and Religious Situation in Mexico* (Internat. Affairs, Sept.); S. G. Hanson, *State Ownership in Uruguay* (Southwestern Soc. Sci. Quar., June); C. Lloyd Jones, *Roots of the Mexican Church Conflict* (For. Affairs, Oct.); R. S. Kain, *The Chaco Dispute and the Peace System* (Pol. Sci. Quar., Sept.); J. M. Mathews, *Roosevelt's Latin-American Policy* (Am. Pol. Sci. Rev., Oct); J. G. Navarro, *El estado actual de los estudios históricos en el Ecuador y su importancia para la historia de España* (Bol. Int. Nat. Mejía, Jan.); R. O. Rivera, *El general Francisco de P. Santander* (Bol. Hist. y Antig., no. 247); Donald Rowland, *Spanish Occupation of the Island of Old Providence or Santa Catalina, 1641–1670* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.); J. Fred Rippy, *Bolívar as viewed by Contemporary Diplomats of the United States* (*ibid.*); Lillian E. Fisher, *Manuel Abad y Queipo, Bishop of Michoacan* (*ibid.*, Nov.); D. M. Phelps, *Industrial Expansion in South America* (Am. Ec. Rev., June); Herbert E. Bolton, *The Black Robes of Spain* (Catholic Hist. Rev., Oct.); Mary Watters, *Bolívar and the Church* (*ibid.*); V. Lecuna, *La guerra á muerte* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., no. 76).

Documents: Juan Manzano, ed., *Un Documento inédito relativo á "Cómo funcionaba el Consejo de Indias"* (Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev., Aug.); *Archivo Santander: Cartas inéditas* (Bol. Hist. y Antig., no. 247); *Documentos de carácter político, militar y administrativo relativos al periodo de la Guerra á Muerte* (Bol. Ac. Nac. Hist., nos. 69-70); *El Quiteño Libre* (Bol. Int. Nac. Mejía, Jan.).

W. S. R.

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Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1922, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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